

THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Vol. XVIII

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No. 2

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PIERCE ATWATER, 1896-1944

(See pp. 257-59)

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THE SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

Volume XVIII

JUNE 1944

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FOUNDATIONS OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE CHINESE AND THE AMERICANS¹

HU-SHIH

I GLADLY join the members and friends of the Immigrants' Protective League in celebrating the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Laws by the Congress of the United States. All Chinese people, here and elsewhere, will gladly join with you in this celebration and in expressing to members of the present Congress our warm and deep appreciation for this action. The repeal of the Exclusion Laws means the removal of the last, but not the least, impediment to the friendship between the peoples of our two countries.

Nearly forty years ago as a young lad of fourteen or fifteen, I witnessed the Chinese boycott of American goods as an act of retaliation against the American exclusion of the Chinese. I cite this long-forgotten boycott to show how serious the situation was at one time. The exclusion law has always mystified my people, because it came from a people most friendly to China. It could have had more serious effects on the relationship between our two peoples if our people

had not always had confidence that the people of the United States would surely some day do us justice and remove and repair this dangerously fractured link in the historic chain of Sino-American friendship.

Now that this rusty link is removed and a historical wrong is redressed, it is worth while to re-examine the foundations on which the friendship between our two peoples has rested during all these years. Such an examination might give us new inspiration to rededicate ourselves to the task of further strengthening these foundations of our friendship.

Sino-American friendship has rested upon three great foundation stones:

1. One hundred years of nonaggressive and friendly policy on the part of the United States government toward China.
2. A century of American missionary work in China.
3. Three-quarters of a century of the educating of Chinese students in American universities and colleges.

China's political relationship with the European powers during the last hundred years, as you all know, has not been happy. But her relationship with the United States has been most friendly from the very beginning. Chinese soon

¹[This address by the Honorable Hu-Shih, former Chinese ambassador to the United States, was delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Immigrants' Protective League, Chicago, April 12, 1944. The League had supported the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Laws, and Dr. Hu-Shih's address was a reply to the assurances of American friendship from the director, officers, and members and friends of the League.—EDITOR.]

began to see that here was a great Western nation which had no territorial or political designs on her and which desired only the right to trade in China. From the very beginning, the American policy was one which was later described as "the Open Door Policy."

As the United States became more and more powerful and as her voice carried more weight in the family of nations, this friendly and disinterested attitude toward China was more than once responsible for rescuing China from grave dangers of imperialistic aggression in the hands of the other Great Powers. It was John Hay whose strong notes on the Open Door Policy in China saved China from the great international crisis at the turn of the century. It was the Washington Conference of 1921-22 which helped China to get back the former German possessions in Shantung which Japan had taken at the beginning of World War I in 1914. It was the treaties of the Washington Conference which gave the Far East a decade of peace, until that peace was ruthlessly broken by Japan's aggression in Manchuria in 1931.

And, whatever you may have heard said about the small amount of American aid to China during her seven years of war against Japan, I can say to you that it is the American government and the American people who have been the main support of our courage and fighting morale throughout these terrible years of a devastating war.

This—the one hundred years of non-aggressive and pro-Chinese policy—has been the first foundation stone of Sino-American friendship.

The second foundation stone of friendship has been the missionary movement. I am no Christian and have not been a student in any missionary school, but I can testify that the work of the Ameri-

can educational and medical missionaries in China has played a very important part in bringing about the mutual understanding and friendship between our two nations. Numerically, the American missionaries probably did not make many converts. Their main contribution has been in the direction of educational and medical service—in opening schools and hospitals, in translating Western books—religious, scientific, and educational works—into Chinese and in agitating for social and political reforms. They were the pioneers who brought to China not only new ideas and ideals but, more important still, a new way of looking at Chinese life and Chinese civilization.

Together with their British and Canadian fellow-workers, the American missionaries have done very good pioneer work in many fields of social and educational reform. The education of women, the education of the deaf and the blind, the introduction of modern medicine, hospitals, and nursing—these are a few of their most notable achievements.

Many of the missionary schools have in more recent decades developed into universities and colleges of good standing. The greatest of these—the Peking Union Medical College, which has been taken over by the Rockefeller Foundation, but whose name testifies to its missionary origin—has been largely responsible for the training of young Chinese leaders in modern medicine, surgery, graduate nursing, and medical research.

The missionary movement has not been a one-way traffic. The missionaries came into close contact with Chinese civilization and played their part as interpreters of China to their friends at home. When they returned to America, either on furlough or after retirement, they became the spokesmen for the Chinese people and their cultural life. Their voice

was heard by the hundreds of churches whose membership had supported the missionary schools or hospitals. Think of the thousands of Yale men who have given financial support to the Yale-in-China throughout the years and decades.

Think of the University of Pennsylvania graduates who have supported Dr. McCracken in his medical work all these years. The missionary in this way has served as the bridge between two peoples—the benefactors and their beneficiaries. This bridge has been one of friendship, service, and understanding.

The third foundation stone of Sino-American friendship has been the many thousands of Chinese students educated in the American universities and colleges.

About the middle of the last century there was only one Chinese graduate of an American university, Mr. Yung Wing, of Yale University. But for the last thirty years there has been an annual average of fifteen hundred Chinese students in your colleges and universities.

The substantial increase in the number of Chinese students began with the return of the "surplus" portion of the Boxer Indemnity by the American government in 1908. The return of the Indemnity was made without any conditions. But President Theodore Roosevelt, in his message to Congress, expressed a hope that the money might be used in educating young Chinese in the American universities. The Chinese government adopted the suggestion and pledged the use of the returned funds for the education of our students in this country. The first group of Indemnity Scholarship students, forty-seven in number, came in 1909. From 1909 to 1941, for over thirty years, the average number of such students has been about seventy-

five each year: about twenty-five hundred in thirty-two years.

As usual in such cases of student migration, these scholarship students have brought many other students to this country—students who came either on other government scholarships or on their own private means. Thus the total number of students has been, year after year, many times the number of scholarship students. Take an average of fifteen hundred students a year, and you get the amazing figure of more than fifteen thousand students who have spent from three to four years in the American universities. Many of these men and women are now in the prime of life and are holding positions of leadership in all walks of life in China. The scholastic standing of the Chinese students has been systematically studied in some of your leading institutions. At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, a statistical study has been made of the scholastic standing of all national groups of students at the institution since its founding, and the result of this study has shown that the Chinese students as a national group have attained the highest average throughout the years. At Bryn Mawr College, some years ago, a Chinese student, Miss Ting, broke all records of scholastic excellence in the history of the college; and when she was studying medicine at the University of Michigan, the dean of the Medical School one day made a speech to the medical students, in which he is reported to have said: "The students of the Medical School can be divided into two classes: Class A, Miss Ting; and Class B, the rest of you!"

Such vast numbers of selected young Chinese men and women doing excellent work in your best universities and colleges and carrying away high academic honors have served a purpose as valuable

as that of the American missionary: they are the unofficial ambassadors of good will while they are in your midst, making the people of your college towns understand and appreciate the intellectual and moral capabilities of the Chinese youth; and when they return to China, they are the best "missionaries" and "salesmen" of American goods, tools, and machinery and the American ways of life. They—the fifteen thousand Chinese students from the American universities and colleges and research laboratories—have been the builders of the third and perhaps the strongest foundation of friendship between our two peoples.

But beneath these three great foundation stones of Sino-American friendship, there is something even more fundamental, which is the foundation of all foundations. That something is the sense of common humanity which one hundred years of contact and association have enabled our two peoples to discover and appreciate in each other. We have found that we love the same things and laugh at the same jokes, that we have the same moral and spiritual standards and agree in the things we honor or despise. That is what I mean by our sense of common humanity.

Some of the guests at this luncheon may have noticed a young American soldier coming to visit me at the speak-

ers' table and present me to his young bride. I cannot resist the temptation to tell you a story about this American youth as an illustration of the point I have been making.

This young soldier was once my chauffeur at the Chinese Embassy. His name is Donald C——; and he comes from a Chicago family of Scandinavian origin. He was with me for a little over a year. At the end of 1940, he came to tell me that he had to leave my service and go back to Chicago to finish his college education. "Mr. Ambassador," said he after we had bid each other goodbye, "I had never met any Chinese before coming to the Embassy. During this last year, I have learned much about your people. I want to tell you, in particular, how much I have learned from observing your cook and Mrs. Hu's maid. I have learned to entertain the greatest respect for both of them. If your people are all like these two, Mr. Ambassador, your people must be a very great people." My young Scandinavian-American friend has hit upon a great truth: he has discovered in a Common Man and a Common Woman of China something which his own people have always considered noble and great. He has found the true foundation of all international friendship and understanding.

NEW YORK CITY

PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE IN SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK¹

GORDON HAMILTON

AS POINTED out by Miss Abbott in her pamphlet on the development of education for social work,² in the last two decades the significance of professional education with a substantial curriculum has been established; social clinic work of high quality has been developed; a place for research has been staked out; and there has been a steadily improving relationship with the professional associations and the national and federal agencies. No one knows better than the members of the Association of Schools of Social Work how much of this solid achievement is due to the leadership of Miss Abbott and Miss Breckinridge at the School of Social Service Administration.

I have been given the challenging, but not too easy, task of trying to state what are now the objectives of professional education in our field for the years immediately ahead. What are to be the main assumptions in professional education which should determine the curriculum and the role of the graduate schools of social work for the next ensuing period? I am indebted for a steadily growing clarification in my own mind to several distinguished studies by members of this Association; to the outstanding work of certain of the Association committees; and, most recently, to the annual Christmas conference of my own school, in

which the faculty tried to redefine our educational objectives. Not only shall I, therefore, be borrowing freely in stating my assumptions, but I hope I shall also be formulating on your behalf something of a convergent point of view, inevitably precipitated by the staggering problems of our times.

Our central purpose can be quite simply stated: namely, to teach the subject matter, philosophy, and technical skill related to the problems of a decent livelihood and, interwoven with this, co-operative, creative social relations. That is to say, the schools have a commitment to a positive program for an adequate standard of living; a commitment to a world point of view; a commitment to a philosophy of racial and cultural democracy. Within these broad commitments we shall have to work out a much better integration of professional knowledge and skill along certain lines, which I shall now try to indicate.

ADEQUATE STANDARD OF LIVING

We are in a war economy. We are involved in a period of either violent or orderly transition to a peace economy, with all the attendant circumstances of dislocation already so much discussed that I need not review them here. The important thing is for our students to have the education that fully arouses them to work for an adequate standard of living. By "adequate" I do not mean economic adequacy alone, but opportunities for educational, social, and cultural development for all people.

¹ A paper given at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, Indianapolis, January, 1944.

² Edith Abbott, *Twenty-one Years of University Education for Social Service, 1920-1941* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

I fear the average social worker is still emotionally conditioned to accept minimum, rather than adequate, standards in his thinking about problems of livelihood. We have worked so long making people's lives a little more bearable that we do not lift up our eyes and our hearts to the possibilities of an economy of adequacy instead of scarcity. The student of tomorrow should know that a scarcity economy, both nationally and internationally, is as immoral as it is unnecessary. This will mean a shift in the balance of our curriculum so that full employment at good wages will take a more central place in the student's thinking. I happen to believe that in a democratic system the interplay of public and voluntary employment, as with other public and voluntary effort, is practicable and desirable; and I think of government as vital participant in all the essential processes of an operating social economy rather than as top-down control. Others of you may envisage a collectivist form of government; but the test of our concern as social work educators lies in our conviction about the practicability of an adequate standard of living by whatever political system we are advancing. If we are to have full employment, the role of the government may take many forms, from subsidies to public works, the indispensable element being to be able to earn sufficient wages to buy the goods that can be produced. This adequate standard must also include a positive health program. Again, it is less important to agree on a uniform system of social medicine than to agree that there shall be socialized medicine and that our students shall work for it. Our special skill of community organization ought to be developed more fully in public health programs than it is today. We still think of community organization too narrowly and

too locally—not enough in public health, public welfare, and over-all state and national community planning and social action. I take it for granted that we are agreed that Beveridge's "job while you work, an income while you can't work," fine as it is, doesn't go far enough for social work in America.

Perhaps you will think it starry-eyed to be placing the center of gravity beyond the insurance principle, essential as that is, to the basic demands of workers on farms and in factories for a good pay envelope or income; but it is just here that social work has too often lacked courage and faith and a sense of direction. (I will speak of public welfare in another context later.) There is something, too, for which the ordinary American citizen—capitalist or worker—must share responsibility with social work, in that the word "welfare," so arrestingly used in the Constitution, seems to have been split off in people's minds and relegated to mean a sort of passive reciprocity instead of to mean, as it should, a welding-together of the creative efforts of a free people in co-operative production and distribution, not only of goods, but of social programs for all men.

The implications for curriculum are obvious. One clue lies in the recommendation of the pre-social work committee that our students should come into professional school better prepared through a strong social science major, including political science and modern, not Elizabethan, economics. Another clue lies in getting the same sort of integration between our standard-of-living and skill courses as we now have, for instance, between our psychiatric and skill courses. Only students who understand the problems of population, of technology, of the economic and political framework, can aspire to social work leadership in organ-

ization and control. Easier said than done, but to be done all the same. Another clue lies in developing social work interpretation and public relations as a stronger part of the community-organization administration major. Professor Clyde White³ has given us some interesting leads on that; but I believe the schools, in the long run, have more to offer than the commercial firm.

A WORLD POINT OF VIEW

As to our commitment to a world point of view, the subject is too large for anything but extreme brevity. Social work can no longer afford merely to operate *within* a culture; it has a responsibility to contribute to *changes* in the culture. We must teach our students to oppose isolationist nationalism if we really believe in the world brotherhood of man. Adequate standard of living must be internationally accepted and so make power politics less inevitable. One step forward toward an international concept of welfare, we hope, may be accomplished through U.N.R.R.A. Even as a symbol and even if it partially fails, it is significant. There are many who believe that freedom from want is possible only in America and in other favorably situated nations. While U.N.R.R.A. should not make unrealistic and illusory promises of help to nations any more than case workers should to clients, the principles adopted at Atlantic City—thanks largely to social workers like Donald Howard and Harry Greenstein—carry some of our oldest and most ringing convictions:

*Resolved,*⁴

1. That welfare services administered by or in cooperation with the Administration shall be

³ R. Clyde White, "A Strategy for Social Workers," *Compass*, November, 1943.

provided without discrimination because of race, creed, or political belief.

The principle of nondiscrimination

2. That it shall be the policy of the Administration to enlist the cooperation and seek the participation of appropriate foreign voluntary relief agencies.

The principle of co-operation

5. That in general, welfare services should be administered, as far as possible, by the government or recognized national authority concerned.

The principle of self-determination

8. That welfare services should be designed to help people to help themselves. Wherever possible constructive work opportunities and measures for self-help should be provided to permit those receiving relief to produce at least some of their own basic requirements.

The principle of participation and self-help

9. That because of the magnitude and complexity of the welfare problems confronting the Administration, and the necessity for effective technical guidance, there should be established a standing technical Committee on Welfare.

[And I understand there was also an expression of the necessity for skilled people to do this job.]

The principle of professional competence

Although the League of Nations has already had fine accomplishments in welfare planning and controls to its credit, these projects have been, administratively, somewhat disconnected and discontinuous. In a world point of view we shall need either an international welfare, or a health and welfare, office to promote social work objectives on a larger scale.

⁴ Resolutions relating to welfare services and voluntary relief agencies, conference at Atlantic City, November 10-December 1, 1943. Italicized phrases are the writer's.

RACIAL AND CULTURAL DEMOCRACY

A harder problem even than that of standard of living—and one related to a world point of view—awaits us in the cultural field. Our students must be exposed to the idea of cultural pluralism, i.e., *the unity of differences*. This implies a steady advance against anti-Semitism, reactionary tendencies in immigration, Jim-Crowism as it still permeates and poisons the national life. The social work commitment is not that of imposed conformity or of appeasement or of unconstructive dissent. Parenthetically let me say that as social workers we have done badly with our own differences. We still suffer from jurisdictional disputes in the family and children's field, from separatism in group work and recreation, from a lack of community-organization philosophy and skill in the expanding war-connected agencies. Even our case work has been wasting its energies on an obscurantist flight into ideologies and semantics. Instead of making good use of divergence, there is a great deal of careless or deliberate misinformation and misstatement. How can the student develop a habit of mind that does not react emotionally to stereotypes of all kinds but that tries to understand and work with cultural, racial, and religious factors on a reciprocal, democratic basis, if our leaders cannot pull together on our own much simpler problems of integration? It is heartbreaking, whether in the local community or in Washington, to see how often critical advances are stalled by inability to work as a team. The Wartime Committee on Personnel has been enheartening, because there we have been able to harness and use our differences to make headway toward common professional goals.

It is never enough to accept the fact of difference. This may be mere provincialism. To recognize and clarify difference, while always a professional obligation, is significant only as it leads to an honest search for more truth. Even to accept difference with tolerance will not help us to remove the frustrations of caste and class, of minorities and discrimination. As a Negro leader said the other day, "When you are teaching the meaning of juvenile delinquency, are you also interpreting it as social protest by our people against frustration?" Well, are we? Are we enough? Down through the ages we have seen the pathological results of belief in a chosen people or a master-race, whether Roman or Nordic or Jewish or Anglo-Saxon, with its inevitable complement of "inferior races" and oppressed minorities. There can be no appeasement as between a cult of race and the brotherhood of man; and true brotherhood means not likeness but a spirit of unity in difference. We must democratize all our teaching in cultural, as well as in standard-of-living, terms. Case work, group work, and community organization must develop better cultural teaching materials. We should also promote Latin-American and foreign fellowships and exchange professorships to the same ends of deeper understanding of divergent cultures.

Some of the broader implications for curriculum from the last two commitments are that not only must we teach standard-of-living and social security, but at least the two-year schools must promote cultural courses, just as we now have courses in law and labor, medicine, and psychiatry. In my own school we have introduced our first course in minorities with 165 registrations; and you will be interested to know that this was

a project worked out by a joint committee of student organization and faculty. That we were able to secure as lecturer a distinguished Negro social worker and scholar is an additional source of satisfaction.

I have already spoken of the need for an international welfare office through which the purpose for world standard of living and world brotherhood can be expressed. American and international social work would be much further ahead if we could also create a unified welfare department at home. The federal family and child welfare agency, when we achieve it, on the individual, group, and community levels, must also address itself broadly to the needs of youth. To solve the problems of adolescence, youth needs the experience of family security and economic and social opportunity. So long as N.Y.A.'s have to be invented or juvenile delinquency be tossed around from one set of ill-equipped and untrained personnel to another, under shifting auspices, we shall have a sorry outlook. While our schools must teach the essentials of family security just as much as of social security, we all know that the family institution is changing under our very eyes. It is obvious that the roles of men and women are not what they were in *Life with Father*. The "manly" man and the "womanly" woman may be out forever. A great many women are going to carry on as workers, wives, and mothers; and fathers, as they go out less to fight wars, may have more interest in child-rearing. Parental care will be further professionalized; but, though family relationships are still, probably, the best way to learn how to love our neighbors as ourselves, this hypothesis, like all our other basic hypotheses, must be constantly subjected to research shared

by both school and field if we are to progress.

Our distinctive professional contribution derives from the fact that we do educate students to understand the interaction of external pressures and internal strains in person-to-person, person-to-group, and person-to-situation adjustments. We must continue to develop scientific understanding of the psychosocial quality in all human relationships. But, as social work educators interpret ever deepening concepts of equality and freedom, they must not take a mechanized abstraction of rights in place of their historic concern for people's needs but must find new ways of integrating these basic human requirements. Our students must assimilate fully the tremendous concepts of rights, of needs, of responsibility, tolerance, self-direction, and participation and translate these tremendous concepts into skills. These concepts and these skills are, I believe, at present better understood and practiced in case work and group work than in administration and community planning. At present it is the politician far more often than the "social planner," still too often not professionally educated, who recognizes feelings as facts. Social work offers as technique something beyond "playing on the feelings" of the masses. In social work we have come to know how understanding and acceptance of feeling can help discharge tension in self-directive and creative movement by individuals and groups. It is now obvious in any probable form of government that the developed and socialized individual will increasingly have to make his participation effective through the group. How are the more pathological forms of lobbyism to be changed into a constructive use of group process? How are com-

munity-organization techniques to become more effective at the levels of federal and state planning? Our curriculum report and discussion give us valuable leads here which I have not time to bring out.

It is no longer tenable to think of one set of social services for "normal" people and one for deviates, any more than it is tenable to think of social work as addressed to the underprivileged and of social security for the "ordinary" American citizen. The range in social work process runs all the way from the simplest furnishing of a resource with skill and insight to educational and therapeutic goals, assuming always, however, the maximum of self-direction and participation on the part of the individual or group or community. The ignorant prejudice which still assigns case work to the poor and counseling to the middle classes; group work to "relationships" and recreation to "activities"; a labor point of view to progress and a welfare point of view to palliation, still bedevils us. I believe we are succeeding slowly at the professional schools in broadening the range and the application of skill in new settings and for new groups of clients, but we still have much to learn. Hopeful indications are our close working relations with a number of federal services, the professional field as a whole, and, perhaps above all, the growing participation with labor on common objectives.

I speak of more matured skill, yet I have been disturbed by what seems to me an unfortunate tendency in American education—apparent in some of the discussions in Indianapolis—to make an oversharpe division between knowledge and skill. The pendulum everywhere in education has been swinging far over to technique, and I suspect that the empha-

sis of the postwar education will be even more sharply technical and vocational. If we lose our perspective of a profession as knowledge in use and come more and more to a cleavage between social work knowledge and specific skill, we shall be teaching students a set of devices, and we shall grow thinner and more superficial in essential competence. In this connection I have been disturbed, as the rest of you must be, by the large number of one-term enrolments in the schools, as shown in our statistics. The demands on vision, knowledge, maturity, and skill in the sort of commitments I have described make a full course essential. I believe that psychiatric and psychological contents have been better adapted in the case-work series than in group work, community organization, and administration, whereas, conversely, economic and political subject matter may have been better translated into philosophy and skill in the latter series, the technical courses being as yet little affected by cultural materials of any kind. In adaptation between knowledge and skill courses, more than ever we must have the help of the professional associations, the federal bureaus, the national functional agencies, so that there will be continuous cross-fertilization between school and field. While close integration between class and field obtains in case work and group work, we must find ways of doing this equally well in social administration; and we must find ways, too, of interesting the student at an earlier stage in administrative and community disciplines, because our two-year graduates are typically not allowed to stay in clinical practice long and are hurled into using on their jobs the very contents which they have often, while in school, so studiously avoided.

The shortage of professionally edu-

cated social workers remains alarming, as the latest reports amply attest. There are still hundreds of vacancies in all the well-established fields; new demands for social workers in war-connected or war-stimulated agencies arise every month. Communities never accustomed to thinking seriously of social services for social problems have been getting them often—on a very crude basis, it is true; but even so they are learning to demand them and are already asking for that better quality of service which can come only from professional disciplines. The Army asks officially what we are prepared to do for men and women on demobilization; yet the schools are still down from their peak enrolment of 5,296 students in 1935! Actually, they are turning out only about 1,000 graduates a year because they are

operating on a financial shoestring, both in individual schools and in the national office. To teach our students the barest elements in the concepts of an adequate standard of living, a world point of view, racial and cultural democracy, takes money, for it takes a superb faculty, not a stretch-out system; a great deal of money spent for field work and research; and much more interchange with the practicing field. We have potentially the largest constituency of any profession. We do have a story that is worth telling. I even think we are learning how to tell it. I even think people are listening to it. I am somehow foolish enough to believe that the money will be forthcoming if we see our opportunity and embrace our responsibility.

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK¹

FRANK J. BRUNO

BACKGROUND

THE occasion might as properly be called the fiftieth anniversary of the idea of education for social work as the quarter-century of our Association, for at the International Congress on Charities, Correction and Philanthropy in 1893, Anna L. Dawes of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, made the first suggestion that such schools should be organized,² and in 1897 Mary E. Richmond, then general secretary of the Charity Organization Society of Baltimore, Maryland, made the same suggestion at the National Conference of Charities and Correction,³ each basing her argument on the absence of competent personnel to take the place of the generation then passing off the scene.

So far as I know, the only other suggestion for education of the beginning social worker was made by Zilpha Smith, general secretary of the Boston Associated Charities, in 1892 in a paper before the National Conference of Charities and Correction on "Education of the Friendly Visitor."⁴ It is not without significance that, as the pioneers of what would be

called in modern terms the personnel in social work (in the sense of full-time and paid workers) passed off the scene, none were found to fill their places, and that the motive for establishing educational institutions for social workers was to make good that lack.

SCHOOLS BEGIN TO BE ESTABLISHED

After Miss Richmond's paper, action became rapid and frequent. The next summer the Committee on Philanthropic Education of the New York Charity Organization Society opened a six-week summer school, charging no tuition and giving no credits, but aiming to give what we would now call a "refresher course" to practicing social workers from various parts of the country. From 1898 to 1904 the summer session was offered on substantially the same basis, except that a modest tuition was charged. In 1904 a three-month course was established; but its objectives remained substantially the same, as appears from the fact that classes met in the late afternoon, to suit the necessities of those attending them. This plan, however, was changed the next year, when a full academic year's course was introduced, in addition to the summer session.

In 1904 a second school, the Boston School for Social Workers, was organized through the effort of Jeffrey R. Brackett, under the joint auspices of Simmons College and Harvard University, whose presidents apparently were vitally interested. In 1907 a series of unrelated lectures by W. H. McClain, general manager of the Provident Association of St.

¹ A paper given at the Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work, Indianapolis, 1944.

² International Congress of Charities, Correction and Philanthropy, Chicago, 1893, *Sociology in Institutions of Learning, Being a Report of the Seventh Session*, pp. 14 ff.

³ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*, 1897, pp. 181-86.

⁴ *Proceedings*, 1892, pp. 445-49. (The friendly visitor in the Boston Associated Charities performed what are now called the "professional case-work services.")

Louis, were crystallized to form the St. Louis School of Philanthropy.

In 1908 a group of courses which had been given since 1901 in University College of the University of Chicago was organized into an independent curriculum, and named the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. In Philadelphia similar beginnings became formalized in 1910 by the creation of the Pennsylvania School of Social Service.

It should be noted that these five schools were created through the initiative or at the insistence of social workers and that universities, except as noted above, had no hand in their formation and contributed nothing in money or services to their continuance.

In the years that intervened before the creation of the Association a new source of interest emerged. This was the undergraduate departments of sociology in state universities. Their attention to the applied aspects of their subject was not new, for professors in economics and sociology in the eastern women's colleges as well as in the coeducational universities of the middle states had sent a stream of young men and women from their classes to settlements and to children and family agencies as volunteers and as paid workers during at least a quarter of a century before the organization of schools of social work. The new emphasis in these departments was the emergence of formalized programs at the undergraduate level, as when Dr. Todd at Minnesota, with no previous experimentation and with a new group of instructors, established a professional curriculum on the undergraduate level in 1915, or Dr. Hagerty at Ohio State University, who had developed special courses in his department as early as 1910, assembled them six years later into an integrated curriculum on the undergraduate level.

THE ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS AND ITS FORERUNNERS

At the Minneapolis meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1907, representatives of the four schools then in existence got together to discuss "How far is it desirable and practicable to secure uniformity of standards and methods between the schools?" and specifically whether a certificate should be granted to students who successfully completed one academic year's work; and whether preference in admission should be given to college graduates, to those who had demonstrated ability in social work, or to those deemed best fitted by personal qualities. A standing committee was appointed to prepare a report on these questions, to keep in touch with the schools, and to arrange for an interchange of ideas and experiences between the schools. There is no record that the committee ever functioned.

One of the early projects of the Russell Sage Foundation, established in 1907, was to subsidize certain schools by establishing fellowships in them. As a result of this policy, John M. Glenn, the director of the Foundation, called several conferences of these schools from the years 1908 to 1915 or 1916, primarily to discuss the policy and results of fellowship grants; but often such conferences expanded into discussions of the common problems of education for social work.

By 1918 there were between fifteen and twenty educational projects in social work in as many cities, scattered in an area roughly bounded by Boston, St. Louis, and Richmond, Virginia. Each went its own way; there had been no formal consultation between them, although it must not be assumed, of course,

that there had not been correspondence or interchange of ideas.

In April, 1919, Porter R. Lee, director of the New York School, circularized the existing schools on the possibility of creating an association of schools. The idea met with instant response. An informal conference was held in New York City on May 29-30, 1919, to discuss plans, and the formal organization was launched at the Atlantic City meeting of the National Conference of Social Work on June 4, with representatives of seventeen schools as charter members.

DEVELOPMENT OF RELATED MOVEMENTS

Practitioners in every profession are deeply concerned with the educational preparation of those coming into their vocation, and it has not been otherwise with social work. In the early days of the century it was the practitioners who saw the need for educating recruits who were to follow them; but such interest does not become effective until professionals have an organization. The formation of the American Association of Social Workers at the Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee in 1921 enabled the practitioners to express formal and collective judgment on content and method of professional education not available before that date. Although the organization followed that of the schools by two years, actually there had existed from 1917 a quasi-professional association in the National Social Workers Exchange, which concerned itself, among other questions, with education for social work.

As might be expected, the subject was often discussed at the National Conference of Charities and Correction. In addition to the three papers mentioned earlier, suggesting that schools of social

work be established, a division of the program of the Conference was devoted to the consideration of certain aspects of professional education in 1911 under the chairmanship of Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, presenting such discussants as Jane Addams, Mary E. Richmond, the directors of the Boston and New York schools, and such practitioners as Roger N. Baldwin. By 1915 the subject had acquired such importance as to bring together another divisional program under the chairmanship of Porter R. Lee, in which papers were presented by Abraham Flexner on "Is Social Work a Profession?" and by Felix Frankfurter on "Social Work and Professional Education," as well as four other papers by heads of schools of social work.

One of the objectives of our new Association was to persuade the National Conference of Social Work to add a permanent division on education for social work in its planning. This was accomplished in 1925 by the establishment of a division, Professional Standards and Education for Social Work, which existed for ten years as a regular feature of the Conference program.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ASSO- CIATION OF SCHOOLS

During its first years the Association accepted new schools into membership on action of its Executive Committee. But the very process of making decisions on applications for membership forced the Executive Committee and then the membership to examine the practices of member-schools. The original statement on this point was that any school having a full-time course for training social workers and covering at least one academic year, with a "substantial amount of both classroom instruction and super-

vised field work," was eligible. By 1924 the rules became more specific. Conditions of membership covered four categories: an organized curriculum, content of curriculum, responsible administrator of the school, and co-operation of allied professional resources. By 1930 a curriculum committee was appointed, and, through a small grant made by the Josiah Macy Foundation, it was possible to employ a secretary who could visit the schools and bring in a report, thus squaring the deliberations of the Executive Committee with actual practice in the schools.

By the winter of 1932-33 the celebrated "minimum curriculum" was adopted—a beautiful illustration of a compromise between the ideal and the practical. Thirteen subjects were forced into its Procrustean limits, the inclusion of each one having some ardent advocates, but the total being more than could possibly be undertaken in one year. The Association hit upon the device of distributing the thirteen subjects into four categories, all but one of which consisted of three subjects. Schools were required to offer all the subjects in the first category, two in the second and third (the latter having four subjects), and one in the fourth. Arbitrary as such a device seemed at the time, it proved to be a practical solution of the difficulty of preserving a certain core of required work and at the same time allowing some flexibility. The report of the present Curriculum Committee (1944) abandons the device and submits a list of subjects, all of which must be offered.

Although the minimum curriculum could be given in one year, the original committee made no requirement that it be on the graduate level or that it be completed in one year if a school had a curriculum covering two years.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS

I. THE GRADUATE VERSUS THE UNDER-GRADUATE LEVEL

One of the major problems of the Association was to reconcile the wide range of subjects deemed desirable, or even essential, for the education of social workers with the limitation of one or two years within which the subjects had to be given. This led to increased attention being given to preprofessional work in undergraduate years and to the final decision taken in 1937 to place professional education on a graduate level. From time to time the Association has had committees on preprofessional subjects, but they have succeeded in drawing up only very tentative lists, largely because of our ignorance of the methods of teaching the social and psychological sciences in the different universities.⁵ The Association and our professional bodies combined are not strong enough to do what medicine has compelled universities to do in their premedical curriculums, even if we wished to follow this precedent, to which some valid objections could be raised. But the policy-making bodies of the Association of Schools and those of the professional association of practitioners have no doubt about the importance of discipline in the social and psychological sciences as well as a broad education in general as prerequisites to professional education.

Quite often the argument for maintaining education for social work at the graduate level is placed upon the relative immaturity of undergraduates. That has always seemed to me a weak basis. Maturity can be secured by other means, such, for instance, as that adopted by Scandinavian schools of social work, in

⁵ The present Committee on Preprofessional Education is handling a wider assignment than the question discussed above.

placing a minimum age for admission, with the further specification that the candidate shall have been employed for at least five years. Furthermore, comparisons with other programs of professional education do not give us much basis for so drastic a restriction. The best that lawyers can do nationally is to demand two years of college and three of law study, or five years of education after high school; it is only the best medical schools that have established the possession of a Bachelor's degree as prerequisite to admission.

Our decision can, I believe, find a sounder justification. The function of social work is of such exceptional importance to the operation of contemporary society that the sheer bulk of knowledge its practitioners need to possess is staggering in its scope. Our solution is to put as much as possible on the undergraduate level before professional training commences; so that, when the student begins to employ his scientific data in professional tasks, the foundation will be sound. This, it seems to me, is the real reason why ours is the only profession which has arrived, up to this time, at the decision that professional education shall be exclusively on a graduate level.

In line with the conviction that member-schools should be studied to determine whether the advancing standards developed by the Executive Committee for the admission of new schools were being adopted by the members, a searching questionnaire was sent to each school in 1935-36, and a careful examination of the answers was made by Dr. Clyde White of the Chicago school. When the result of this analysis of the thirty-two schools then members of the Association was laid before the Executive Committee in 1937, it reviewed the findings with care; eighteen were approved, four were

given extension of time to correct deficiencies, two were dropped from membership, two required special consideration, and six were still on a provisional status and therefore not subject to review at that time.

In the fiscal years 1938-40 the Rockefeller Foundation made a grant to the Association to study the facilities of the schools to prepare for the public social services, making it possible to employ adequate secretarial staff to visit all the schools and to publish the result of the investigation.⁶ No similar evaluation of member-schools has since been made, although the Accrediting Committee is working on a method which it is hoped can be applied continuously to all the schools. But the organization and testing of schedules are, however, technically complex tasks, and it may be some time before the new method can be applied.

The Association has been chronically underfinanced: always with more to do than it had resources to accomplish. Annual dues, even at one hundred dollars and upward per school, fall far short of meeting minimum administration costs; and only through an annually renewed grant of \$5,000 from the Russell Sage Foundation have we been able to maintain an office with a full-time secretary. In other words, adequate stimulation and grading of the work of the member-schools cost more than the Association has ever had at its disposal, even with all the voluntary assistance that member-schools have contributed.

II. INSTRUCTORS

Who should be employed to teach in schools of social work? Miss Richmond, in her paper of nearly fifty years ago, said that a successful school would de-

⁶ *Education for the Public Social Services* (Chapel Hill, 1942).

pend, among other things, on securing as its head "a university trained man who is now engaged in charitable work, and who has had wide practical experience in it."⁷ This is in line with our contemporary definition of a competent instructor as one who had educational preparation and valid professional experience in the field in which he is teaching.

Such statements are, however, oversimplified; their application and interpretation have varied widely. On that point I should like to postpone discussion until later, turning now to the troublesome question of whether the instructor ought to be one who, although acceptable to the school scholastically, is primarily a successful practitioner giving only a part of his time to teaching; or whether he should be primarily a university instructor. On this point, the standard laid down by the Association represents a certain tentative compromise: in a one-year school at least two instructors should teach full time; and a two-year school should have at least three full-time instructors. This standard, like placing the curriculum on a graduate level, has been reached only by resolving a long, hard controversy. On the one hand, it was argued that practitioners can bring to schools the best in current practice, whereas those who give their whole time to teaching soon lose contact with the field and either become theoretical or continue to teach outmoded methods. The argument against the part-time teacher is, in a nutshell, that being a good practitioner does not insure capacity to teach.

More seriously stated, part-time teaching by busy practitioners too often results in what Felix Frankfurter described in his Conference paper of 1915

as "giving their teaching their tired leavings."⁸ The soundness of that observation was not disputed then nor is it now; but, like all generalizations, it is subject to some modifications. Given the main body of teaching carried by full-time, competent faculty members, there are two areas of subject matter in which part-time instructors strengthen the curriculum. The first, of course, is those subjects depending upon other professions: law, medicine, psychiatry, and perhaps others. The second is that group of special subjects, usually for advanced students, in which the developing field can best be presented by those who are functioning in it. But the condition of successful part-time instruction is that the instructors be paid a salary proportionate to the time they give, thus enabling the school to insure that it is not given only the "tired leavings" of their time. Because of the pitifully small budgets on which most of our schools are operating, it is not unjust to say that an unfortunately large number of schools exploit the willing practitioner by loading on him teaching responsibilities for which they do not pay adequate compensation.

Part-time teaching is poor teaching. It is a coincidence if a good practitioner is also a good instructor. But good teaching is not only a matter of the classroom. In professional education especially, it includes careful evaluation and guidance of students in co-operation with the other members of the teaching staff, work on the school's curriculum, and participation in the joint faculty projects for study and research. Part-time teaching tends to be individualistic and consequently duplicating, in part, the subject matter of other instructors. Unless the practitioner is very conscientious, he will

⁷ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1897*, p. 185.

⁸ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Baltimore, 1915*, p. 591.

rely too much upon the data of his own experience, neglecting the variations, the experimental areas, and the atypical examples which together make up the entire field. Part-time instruction may be a valuable aid when the field can be sharply defined, as in medicine, psychiatry, and law; it may be tolerated, consciously as a second best, when the alternative would be no teaching at all.

III. FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS

The Association has very little precise data on the financial affairs of its members. When a school applies for membership, its budget is scrutinized, to see whether it conforms with the requirements of the Association. When final decision is made on acceptance of the school, another budget is submitted, but, from that time on, no financial report is called for by the Association. Any statements I may make on this point have of necessity to be based upon material gathered almost by chance.

Miss Richmond, in her paper earlier alluded to, held that a school should be well endowed, in order to secure the services of the best possible instructors. A few schools have been so fortunate as to secure endowments. The gifts of John C. Kennedy to the New York school, the interest of the Rockefeller Foundation in the new school at Nashville and its generous gifts to a few other of our schools, and the legacies from the estate of George Warren Brown at Washington University are the only examples of endowments approaching adequacy. Rarely will a university divert any of its hard-pressed funds to a new project such as social work! The financial story of most of our member-schools is one of meager support, sacrifice on the part of instructors, and contributions from underpaid social workers. Miss Hardwick writes

that, in the early days in Boston, Jeffrey Brackett and Zilpha Smith returned substantial parts of their salaries to the school to keep it going. The director at one school has recently resigned in order to lighten its financial load. In another city social workers, out of their meager salaries, taxed themselves a certain sum annually for five years in order to furnish a financial backlog for their local school.

One of the dangers facing any such institution is that it should attempt, or be forced to attempt, to finance itself from tuitions. I saw correspondence recently regarding a projected school in which the expectation was expressed that, since there are so many social workers clamoring for professional education and so many more needed, tuitions might be counted on to furnish the bulk if not all the income. When the Kansas City unit was initiated, this theory was advanced by some professional as well as lay persons.

There are two serious—I might say, fatal—objections to such financing. The first is that, if a school must secure even the major part of its support from tuitions, it will be forced to offer subjects which attract students and to omit subjects which do not pay for themselves. In other words, the curriculum of a school depending heavily on tuitions is affected, and affected for the worse, by such a restriction. It has to a degree the same weaknesses as does a proprietary school, one operated to make money for its owner. This method of determining what is and what is not to be taught is, of course, outlawed in all good educational institutions. But it reappears in modified form in evening law schools, business schools, university extension courses, and in some of our own curriculums. The student who wishes to fit himself to secure a routine job in a specific

field in the quickest possible manner finds his answer in such a school, though he is, of course, by the same token cut off from the variety and depth of contact which might conceivably, under more favorable conditions, develop in him a professional rather than a vocational point of view. On the other hand, the ambitious student desiring to know the wide, professional, and social implication of the vocation for which he is preparing himself finds in such schools few if any desirable courses, since not enough of similarly minded students enrol in them to support the wide range of subjects he requires.

The second objection to the educational project supported largely by tuitions is that it cannot hope to secure competent instructors. Although there are compensating factors in university work which induce qualified social work practitioners to be willing to surrender some remuneration on taking an instructional position, resources available for instructional salaries from tuitions in a professional school fall far short of being sufficient to attract practitioners of reputation on a full-time basis.

Professional education is expensive. How expensive it should be our schools do not yet know, for we have never had adequate resources. However, in one school whose financial statements over a series of years I have had the privilege of studying, the percentage of the cost borne by tuitions jumped from about 25 per cent to 50 per cent during the first years of the depression. With enrolment more than doubling and other resources of the school slightly contracting, the school faced the necessity of making radical adjustments. I have not talked with its director, but, just on the face of the figures, classes had to be larger, less time was available for individual counseling

with students and for study of the curriculum at a time when it probably needed it, and all along the line the quality of service that its teaching staff could give was diluted. Probably such functions as research and publications suffered most.

While we have only partial data on which to establish any norm, it is probably somewhere near the truth to state that, to achieve anything approaching adequacy, income from other sources than tuition should be between 70 and 80 per cent of the total expenses of a professional school. In education for the ministry, among the Association of Theological Seminaries, it is more than that. Among Grade A medical schools it is probably even higher, whereas probably in the best law schools at least three-fourths of their income is derived from sources other than tuition fees.⁹

IV. FIELD WORK

The first projects for education for social work always envisaged field work as an essential part of the educational process. Since the preparation of social workers before the days of the schools was strictly on the principle of apprenticeship, it was to be expected that when schools were being established an effort would be made to conserve the values of that aspect of education. Medical schools had been thoroughly convinced of the indispensable function of clinical observation by the demonstrations of Dr. William Osler at Pennsylvania and Johns Hopkins, as well as by Abraham Flexner's epoch-making report on medi-

⁹ In the academic year 1942-43 at Yale University, tuitions in three professional schools bore the following share of the total expenses: Medicine 8 per cent, Divinity 14 per cent, and Law 21 per cent. These percentages were secured from data contained in the *Report of the Treasurer of Yale University for the Fiscal Year 1942-43* (New Haven, 1943).

cal education, so that it would have been strange had it been otherwise with us.

But it was not until the adoption of the "minimum curriculum" in 1932-33 that the Association attempted to establish any ratio between class and field work, when it laid down the rule that not more than one-third or less than one-quarter of the total credits of a school might be in field work. It did not attempt to set a ratio of distribution of time that might be spent in the classroom or in the field. There were, as there are now, wide variations in practice among the schools: one school giving eight and originally ten months of the twelve months of a year to field work. Some schools, on what is now called a work-study basis, had only the minority of the students' time for class instruction, the rest being spent in paid work for social agencies, which ranked as field work with the school and employment—euphemistically called "scholarship"—with the agency.

Aside from these variants, there were other differences among schools. Some gave field work in a block; others, discontinuously, paralleling class work. The argument for the block plan is that, by means of constant contact with an agency, the student secures a realistic discipline in the actual conduct of social work, impossible in a plan by which he is in the field only two or three days a week. Against it may be argued that it is dissociated from theory and tends to deteriorate into an apprenticeship. The Smith school, which is most wholeheartedly committed to the block plan, attempts to protect it against this deterioration by assigning some study project to each student and holding sessions with student groups in the agency offices at intervals throughout the year.

The values claimed for the discontin-

uous assignment, parallel with class work, are (1) that it enables the school to keep progress in class work and in field work more closely together, by conferences, by supervision, and by co-ordinating the respective progress in the two areas of education, and (2) that it fits better the tempo of the students' development. In the acquisition of skill, time is quite as important as subject matter; the rate of learning a skill is not so rapid as that of mastering data. Acquired skill is awkward, and may even be dangerous, until it has become a part of the intuitive self; and time is just as important in such educational growth as competent supervision and pertinent subject matter.

Another question in the conduct of field work relates to the status of student supervisors. Should they be members of the staff of the school, appointed and paid for by the school, and placed in an agency, which then allocates a certain block of its work to be handled by the students under the direction of the faculty member? Or should they be selected members of the agency's own staff, who are given some such title as "student guides" or "student supervisors" and to whom students are assigned for field training? Whether they or their agencies are paid by the school for these services or not, does not clearly affect the nature of the plan.

The advantages claimed for the first method are that it gives the school complete control of the field work; for the second, that the student is more likely to enter into a realistic relationship with an agency.

A real difficulty with the first plan is its cost. If we admit that six to eight students constitute a full-time load for a supervisor, and the supervisors are of the same grade of professional attainment as the classroom teachers, the cost is pro-

hibitive. The device of using advanced students as supervisors under some plan of fellowship secures a less mature type of supervisor than when an agency places the best of its practitioners at the service of the school as student supervisors. The disadvantages of the second plan are that the tenure of the supervisor is necessarily determined by the agency, so that transfers may interfere with the interest of the student, and that the plan is an exploitation of agencies used for students' field work. Agencies get a hypothetical benefit, however, in that they often have the first choice of such students to recruit their own staff.

These questions and, of course, many others are as yet unsolved concerning the administration of field work. None of the other professional schools, such as medicine, education, and theology, which use analogous methods, can give us much light, except to confirm the fact that participation in actual tasks under competent supervision is essential to professional education.

V. TRAINING VERSUS EDUCATION

In all professional education there is a perennial conflict between the objectives of preparing for a specific task and educating for professional competency. Specific techniques are constantly being elaborated; they are fascinating to students, and they create the delusion that their mastery in classroom equips one to use them in the field. They are tangible and concrete; the student has the sensation of enlarging his fitness for his job as he learns them. Now, I would not want to be understood as in the slightest degree disparaging the necessity for acquiring the specific skill of one's profession. The practitioner in any profession who substitutes a bedside manner for down-to-the-ground diagnostic skill, or

sentimental concern over failure or crime for mastery of the best possible means of understanding and treating them, is a charlatan. We cannot possibly learn how to do our job too well; it is a never ending quest. A profession must, however, be characterized by qualities other than skill; it must know the *why* of its practice as well as the *how*; it must be aware of its place in the society to which it ministers. But almost all the forces outside the practitioner urge skill, and yet more skill, and the still small voice of professional conscience goes unheard. While this is true in all professions, as I shall show by illustrations later, our concern is with social work.

In the first twenty years after Miss Dawes's paper, the rival camp for training and for education had scarcely aligned themselves, although one notes some realization of the coming clash in very early statements. But later on, as the practitioners became more conscious of their skill, the insistence of the field has been placed more and more heavily on preparing students for specific tasks. Sometimes there has been open denial of the wisdom of a broader discipline; as, for instance, when one of the early pamphlets of the American Association of Social Workers stated that agencies did not care to recruit personnel "too highly specialized in the social sciences." In the debate that went on in 1927-29 over the adoption of an educational criterion for membership in the American Association of Social Workers, a vast volume of argument was advanced by members from almost all parts of the country against educational as contrasted with technical preparation. We have the same pressure reappearing today. Case workers want special courses which will fit the practitioner, public or private, to take up his job at once as a

competent technician; we are now asked to prepare people for housing, for the social insurances, and most recently for the rehabilitation of the war wounded.

The most significant single challenge directed at social work, which is referred to whenever these subjects are under discussion, was the paper by Flexner, earlier mentioned, given before the National Conference of Social Work in 1915 and entitled "Is Social Work a Profession?"¹⁰ His answer of "No" was based on his judgment that social work lacked one of the essential criteria of a profession, namely, "an educationally communicable technique." On other counts he felt we might pass muster; but on this, to him apparently the determining criterion, he excommunicated us. It has always seemed to me that, from that time on, we set out by every means at our disposal to disprove his judgment. Wholesome as careful criticism is, I have always considered that Flexner rendered us a distinct disservice, in that he diverted our attention from the whole spread of professional competency to that segment which has proved the one-sided development that endangers every profession.

Coincidence conspired to give impetus to this one-sided development of the profession. Miss Richmond's *Social Diagnosis* came out within two years (published, 1918) and seemed to be the answer to Flexner's challenge, although it was intended to integrate the discipline of logic with the interpretation of data gathered by social workers. Soon after its publication, in a conversation with me, she said: "I have spent the last ten years in giving social case work a defensible scientific foundation. I intend to spend the next ten in demonstrating to social case work that if the profession comes to

depend exclusively on any technique, it is sawing away the limb on which it sits." But fate was against her and the profession in this respect. Almost immediately, Freudian concepts and methods were made available to social workers, and they proved almost as if created for the purpose of providing them with a means of realizing the diagnostic and treatment challenges facing them. Social workers adopted the methodology, and they adapted it more wholeheartedly than the doctors for whom it was designed. Within ten years of Flexner's dictum, social work had defined for itself a more conscious body of techniques quite capable of transmission by an educational process than any of the professions, save engineering and medicine.

When the Harvard Law School was established in the early nineteenth century, the intention of its founder "was the development not so much of lawyers as of law."¹¹ The responsibility of each profession is not only to develop methods of meeting its problems but to examine its place in society and continuously to interpret to itself and to its contemporaries the social problems it is attempting to treat; to measure its success and failure, and what these mean to the men and women it serves. But no profession entirely meets this test. Engineering should not only build roads and bridges; it should also be a constant interpreter—and possibly, experimenter—in the field of industrial relations. Regarding law, Roscoe Pound is quoted as saying, "As to new problems such as industrial disputes, no one thinks of referring them to judicial cognizance."¹² We can add our

¹¹ James H. Tufts, *Education and Training for Social Work* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1923), p. 103 (quoting Alfred Z. Reed, *Training for the Public Profession of the Law* [Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching Bull. 15]).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁰ *Proceedings, Baltimore, 1915*, pp. 576-90.

judgment that the severest criticism against the medical profession in English-speaking countries is that it has paid so nearly exclusive attention to perfecting its methods of therapy that it has lost the vision of its place in the treatment of illness and has compelled other forces to carry on the fight for a reorganization by which its services may be made available for all who need them.

James H. Tufts said almost at the time our Association was organized:

The professional social worker cannot expect that skill in the technique of social service will in itself entitle him to utter . . . [an authoritative] voice upon social problems. Social problems, like problems of justice, involve ends and values, and no expertness as to means is a guarantee of just and true perspective for these.¹³

Let me cite a few illustrations of what I mean by professional in contrast with technical competency.

Grace Marcus in her Conference paper on "Financial Dependency and Relief Giving"¹⁴ in 1928 exposed the false opinion regarding the debilitating effect of relief—an opinion created by centuries of rationalization on the part of comfortable and successful people who could shut their pocketbooks with the pious reflection that "the poor are hurt by relief." She showed that it is not relief that hurts its recipients but the long and hopeless struggle against frustration and defeat waged by the applicants before they come to beg for the crumb needed to save their lives. She placed the charge of destroying men and women on the economic fringe not on the process of relief but on the mercilessness of a competitive society. Again Miss Marcus, before the International Congress on Mental

Hygiene of 1930, showed how social case work could greatly enlarge the social utility of the psychoanalytic method by applying it in the early phases of troublesome behavior reached by school and social work. Or, again, Dorothy Kahn, commissioned to explain to the delegates at the International Conference of 1936 how the United States had handled the problem of relief of the unemployed, announced the philosophy of democracy in the treatment of the unemployed; that they had the same rights as independent citizens, and one of them was to have their status preserved as well as their hunger satisfied. William Hodson, in his last talk before his fatal flight to Africa, said that those who knew how relief of the unemployed was handled in the previous depression were convinced that never again should men and women be compelled to go through such a degrading and shameful process to secure decent maintenance when unemployed. Karl de Schweinitz in his recent book, *England's Road to Social Security*,¹⁵ relates the long and shameful though gradually improving way England has followed from the primitive and sometimes brutal laws of four hundred years ago to the public opinion and legal provision of a broadly conceived economic foundation for all.

These illustrations are from the pens of our fellow social workers who are highly skilled technicians; they demonstrate that there is no inherent contrast between skill in method and a comprehensive grasp of one's professional responsibility. In fact, it may be somewhat questioned whether the best development of method is possible without some vision of its use.

Education to create professionals in this broader sense has not been wholly neglected by our schools; certainly not

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁴ *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1928.

¹⁵ University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943.

any more than by schools in other professions. Method is definite; it can "be transmitted by an educational process." Transmitting point of view and interest in questions of the end and purpose of our activity depends upon a state of mind, a historical perspective, and a philosophy, less obviously susceptible of being taught. Certainly, it costs more to gather a faculty with vision and give it the freedom to pass it along to pupils than to bring together a group of teachers whose sole task is to transmit a technique.

SUMMARY

We have been learning during this half-century how to prepare young men

and women for our difficult but fascinating field. The educational experience of other professions has taught us much. Once, when I was speaking to him of the slowness of progress in education for social work, Chancellor Throop of Washington University retorted: "Why, social work has made more progress in its educational standards in one generation than any other profession has in a century."

It's really a proud past, filled at least with the achievement of translating a hope hesitatingly expressed fifty years ago into a sturdy reality of institutions, standards, and a personnel that promise well for the next half-century.

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THE UNDERGRADUATE UNIVERSITY AND THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

MARSHALL E. JONES

IN MANY of the colleges and universities of the country at the present time there are plans under way for revision of curricula, changes in departmental organization, promotion of better relationships among the various divisions of the college, and similar administrative matters. Most of these plans are motivated by the feeling that the colleges have not been performing adequately the very vital function of turning out socially well-informed citizens whose interests can include not only their own field of professional competence but also an appreciation of the many aspects of our civilization which lie outside that field. It is said that most of the colleges do a fair job of educating specialists but that they do very little, on the whole, to decrease provincialism among their graduates. Suggestions for revision within the undergraduate group take the form, largely, of plans for some kind of "general education college" or "general education courses" which are intended to produce, not specialists in any one field, but individuals having a broad acquaintance outside their own special fields. In some cases these courses are referred to as "cultural" courses; in other cases that term is not used. But, whether it is used or not, the purpose ultimately is cultural in the best sense of that term, which we take to mean a combined knowledge of, appreciation of, and participation in, progressive aspects of civilization.

To anyone interested both in social work and in undergraduate education, this matter of the revision of course of-

ferings is naturally of importance not only as it relates to strictly college processes but as it relates to preparation of the undergraduate for study at graduate schools of social work or for a career in social work. The relationship between the colleges and the schools of social work seems worthy of re-examination, especially with reference to the question of what the college can contribute to the school of social work.¹

Statements have been made by various bodies with reference to this question, including one of significance by the American Association of Schools of Social Work.² That statement has stressed both preparational work in the social sciences and the desirability of a broad cultural course in college. Naturally, we all agree on the importance of a knowledge of the social sciences in pre-social-work education. But the writer has noted (in spite of the statement referred to and others) a degree of im-

¹ A number of papers have appeared recently bearing on the subject of social work and undergraduate education. Cf. Arthur E. Fink, "Some Problems of Social Work Education from the Viewpoint of the State University," *Social Forces*, October, 1941; R. C. White, "Pre-social-service Education," *Social Forces*, October, 1942; H. Smith, "Pre-professional Training," *Public Welfare*, October, 1943; H. A. Brown, "An Experiment in Undergraduate Training for Social Work," *Public Welfare*, January, 1944. These papers differ from the present one in that most of them examine either the possibilities of technical training for social work in the undergraduate school or the replacement of graduate training by an undergraduate program. In this paper we are concerned with the undergraduate college in another sense, as it is related to social-work training.

² At their Indianapolis meeting in May, 1937.

patience with any program of a generalized nature as preparation for social work in the undergraduate college. Many people question its value.³ The purpose of this paper is to indicate what the writer believes to be its very real value to social work, yet a value which is often overlooked.

In the minds of social workers the concept of the function and place of social work in the community has been greatly modified within the last twenty years or so. Perhaps it would be somewhat more accurate to say that ideas common in the minds of leaders in social work twenty years ago have by now become common in the minds of the great majority of social workers.⁴ Those ideas, in brief, envisage for social work a function far beyond that of "relief-giving" or "charity" or routine disposal of "cases" on the basis of apparent surface needs. The giving of relief is still a function of social work. In many cases that is all the social worker can do. But in many other cases relief is looked on not primarily as an end in itself but as an instrument, or means, to some other end. Even in those cases in which relief is the only service given, it is given in such a way as to invite, or at least to make possible, a situation in

which nonmaterial, developmental services can be given.⁵ The question then arises: "What is the 'other end' to which relief, and other casual contacts, are to serve as means?"

The actual words used to define this further aim of social work would doubtless vary with different writers, but in general the meaning of the definition would probably be something like "the development of human personality" or "enabling the individual client to realize in actuality a greater number of his potentialities" or "enabling the individual to relate himself significantly to other groups and other people so that life has more meaning for him and for them."⁶ If the aim of social work is expressible in some such terms, then the process seems to involve at least two subprocesses: (1) removal of obstacles to personality development; (2) assistance in the growth of the personality after the obstacles are removed. The first process without the second would be incomplete; the second, attempted without the first, would hardly succeed. Both are closely related to modern concepts of the human personality and its changes.⁷

Now adherence to such a goal makes the social worker's task a much more

³ People on both sides of the fence, so to speak. For example, a former colleague of the writer reported that, after visits to several graduate schools in an earnest endeavor to discover what kind of pre-social-work education was desirable, he came away with the general impression that they had said to him: "Run along, little boy, and play with your children. When the time comes really to educate them, we will take care of that and don't you trouble yourself about it." On the other hand, an undergraduate student recently left the writer's classes grumbling that what she wanted was a job, not all this "culture" stuff. And she has, of course, demonstrated that she was right by getting a job in a war plant at a huge salary.

⁴ Cf. Fern Lowry (ed.), *Readings in Social Case Work: Selected Reprints for the Case-Work Practitioner, 1920-1938* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939).

⁵ Cf. G. F. Marcus, "Changes in the Theory of Relief Giving," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1941*, p. 267; Dorothy Kahn, "Conserving Human Values in Public Welfare Programs," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1941*, p. 308. Also, M. A. Cannon, "Where the Changes in Social Case Work Have Brought Us," in Lowry, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 119; M. W. Glenn, "The Growth of Social Case Work in the United States," in Lowry, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁶ No citations are given for these forms of the statement since they result from personal conversations with social workers. These statements are, however, closely paralleled in Lowry, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 148, 70; and, of course, by Mary Richmond's classic definition of case work.

⁷ Hence we have the great emphasis on psychoanalytic techniques, or modifications of them, in the case-work process.

difficult one than it was under the simpler concepts of the past. Interference with the life-processes of another person is not a task to be undertaken lightly. Even though the fact is not always realized outside the ranks of the profession, the setting-forth on a career of social work is a serious matter. Any sensitive person must be inclined to ask some such question as, "If we mean what we say about the function of social work, how does anyone dare to undertake it? Isn't it presumptuous to assume that responsibility?" There is no doubt that we do mean what we say. And many social workers have, of course, asked themselves that question. They have answered it in all humility by emphasizing not their own abilities but the necessity of training, of discovering, and of experiencing new techniques as a prerequisite to success. They have made every effort to learn "the art of helping people out of trouble."

Certainly their efforts have not been unavailing. They have learned a great deal that it is vitally necessary to know about techniques, and they have in many cases successfully put their techniques into practice. Yet—is that all there is to the story? When we consider the really successful social worker, do we not see a person who, in addition to technique, has a genuine sympathy for, a genuine appreciation of, a genuine liking for, his fellow-human beings? The difference between the social worker whose influence is widespread among co-workers, clients, and community alike and the social worker whose intentions may be good but who somehow fails to accomplish much in any situation—the difference between these two—lies ultimately in what the worker *brings to technique*.⁸ If he

brings to technique only a narrow, provincial, routinized set of ideas, either he will fail in his profession or he will learn about it through the experience of failure—a way of learning that is hard both for himself and for his clients. If he brings to technique a knowledge of people (and that is different from a knowledge *about* people) through which he has an appreciation and understanding of their lives, his approach to those people who happen to be his clients will be not only more confident but more directly friendly, with the result that rapport is quickly established.⁹

This knowledge of people comes partly from the direct experience of associating with them. Social workers should have that kind of experience, of course. But direct association with people as a source of knowledge to *bring to* technique has a number of defects. First, it consumes so much time that, if we are to use it as our sole source of knowledge, we will never get to the point of practicing our profession. Second, we cannot associate directly with all types of people, if for no other reason than that we do not have the entree to their society. Third, the experience of direct association must be interpreted if it is to have any meaning for our professional careers, but, since it is our own association, very often we ourselves are its sole interpreters. How adequate are we as interpreters? And how broad will the interpretation be? We sometimes forget all these facts when we stress the importance of "direct experi-

exist, though she certainly is not as common as that author thinks.

⁹ The situation is exactly the same in student-teacher relationships, and it is interesting to note that current criticisms of schools of education are largely in the direction of criticisms for teaching techniques to people who get nothing but techniques and therefore fail as teachers.

⁸ The type prefigured in Caroline Slade's *Lilly Crackell* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1943) does

ence" in human relations. What we usually do, as a matter of fact, is experience only a narrow segment of human relations and generalize from that segment. This may or may not be a valid procedure in some instances. It is of very doubtful validity in the field of personality change.

We are thus driven back to some kind of "indirect" experience of human thoughts, creations, reactions, and interpretations of life. Note that this must be an experiencing of these things themselves, not a mere reading *about* them.

Let us take a specific example: We have said that social work involves the growth of the human personality of the client. How much real meaning does that phrase have? True, the whole concept of the personality and its modifications has been investigated by psychologists and psychiatrists. Their knowledge is doubtless incomplete; but they are adding to it, and that is certainly all to the good for social work, since it is of great technical value. But it is also true that psychological knowledge is largely limited to the *mechanisms* of personality modification, and quite properly so. It still leaves unanswered the question: "Development through these mechanisms to what extent and for what purpose?" That question can be answered meaningfully by the student only through some personal experiencing of the actual accomplishments and interpretations of life given to us by outstanding human personalities of the present and of the past. Since this is an experiencing of the creations of these people, and not of a relationship with the people themselves, it is indirect experience. But it need be nonetheless real for that reason.

We cannot know what the human personality is really capable of in the realm

of beauty of language, say, until we have read what great writers have done with our language. We cannot know what potentialities there are in human beings in any of the creative arts until we have experienced for ourselves what men have done to make those potentialities actual. We do this by looking at, or listening to, or reading, their works. We cannot know what interpretations the human mind can make of our common human life (which both we and our clients share) until we have absorbed, and criticized, and evaluated, for ourselves, those interpretations. Now, of course, in saying this we lay ourselves open to the criticism that we want to make every social worker and every client a Shakespeare or a Beethoven or a Kant. Of course, that is not the point. The point is this: We talk about the "growth" of the human personality and about human "potentialities." But, if we are to be honest with ourselves, we ought to know what we are talking about. This is all the more true if, in addition to talking about those things, we are actually to assist in their development and growth. But the best way to know what we are talking about in the field of personality is to experience both directly and indirectly, as many kinds of personality as possible. Since direct experience of all kinds of personalities is limited both by time and by social barriers, indirect experience takes its place. And, for social workers, such indirect experience should by no means be limited to pathological personalities. We have to deal with them, in some cases, it is true. But dealing with them, like dealing with normal personalities, involves changing them, developing them, assisting them to grow in a certain direction. That direction is exemplified by the creations of outstanding personalities. To neglect them in any discussion of per-

sonality growth is as though we talked of speedy transportation and forgot the airplane, or of the processes of modern industry and forgot technology.

It has been a matter of interest to the writer to note that most of the psychiatrists with whom he has talked have been men of "culture." Perhaps it is fair to say (from a fairly broad, though necessarily limited, experience) that they are more so than the average professional man is. They "bring to" their technique a broad knowledge of life and its meanings. Could they deal successfully with problems of personality without this characteristic?

But it is precisely this type of "culture" in the sense of an understanding of, and appreciation of, human life through the experiencing of culture products that the liberal-arts colleges are equipped to give to students. And it is the fulfillment of precisely this aim that underlies the current plans for "general education courses" in the undergraduate division

of the university.¹⁰ As these plans mature, the contribution of the undergraduate college to professional social work education in the graduate schools of social work will have increasing significance.¹¹ For it will enable students to *bring to* technique the thing which outstanding social workers have always had, however they may have acquired it. There is a chance here for genuine co-operation between the colleges and the graduate schools of social work—two branches of our larger "educational system"—which we must not neglect.

UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING

¹⁰One very common suggestion, for instance, is that the student should have contact with five "general fields" of life: (1) his own language and its use; (2) humanities ("fine arts"); (3) physical sciences; (4) social sciences; (5) history of civilization. These are quite apart from his field of concentration for specialist training.

¹¹We should note that the college has certainly not failed completely in the past as far as its cultural aims go. The suggestion that it might do better than it has done does not mean that it has failed entirely in the past.

STAFF NEEDS IN VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SERVICES

HELEN R. WRIGHT AND MARY E. MACDONALD

A STATE can be successful in dealing with the problem of vocational rehabilitation only to the extent to which it is able to secure agents conversant with the problem.¹ In these words, the Federal Board for Vocational Education in 1920 recognized the crucial importance of qualified personnel. It was a promising beginning for a new program in which uncharted paths were to be traveled. It was only a beginning, however; the states needed guidance in developing standards and help in knowing how to obtain "agents conversant with the problem." Some guidance along these lines was given in the years that followed by the federal agency responsible for administering grants to the states for vocational rehabilitation.² Probably few people who know the vocational rehabilitation service in the states, however,

would maintain that its strongest point has been the quality of its personnel. It seems appropriate, therefore, to take a fresh look at the problem.

It is especially important that this problem be considered today. It is not only that war casualties both realized and expected increase enormously the group in need of this service, while civilian casualties are not diminishing; it is also that all plans for postwar reconstruction with their goals of better living standards for all—expressed in such terms as freedom from want, social security "from the cradle to the grave," "life more abundantly"—depend for their realization on full use of the country's resources, including intelligent use of the handicapped. Thus all blueprints for the years ahead should include plans for a greatly enlarged program of vocational rehabilitation. Congress has already recognized the necessity for such action both by the creation of a special program for veterans under the Veterans' Administration³ and by amendments to the grant-in-aid law under which the civilian program is operated by the states.⁴ The country has a right to demand far better rehabilitation services for both veterans and civilians than have been available in the past. It cannot expect to get them unless the problem of adequate personnel is tackled vigorously and intelligently.

Standards for personnel and plans for

¹ U.S. Federal Board for Vocational Education, *Industrial Rehabilitation: A Statement of Policies To Be Observed in the Administration of the Industrial Rehabilitation Act* (F.B.V.E. Bull. 57 [Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1920]), p. 17.

² From 1920 to 1933, federal grants for vocational rehabilitation were administered by the Federal Board for Vocational Education, an independent federal agency that had been established in 1917 to administer the National Vocational Education Act (Smith-Hughes). In 1933 the functions of the Board were transferred to the Office of Education, then a part of the Department of the Interior, where vocational education and vocational rehabilitation grants were administered by the Vocational Division. Upon the establishment of the Federal Security Agency in 1939, the Office of Education was transferred to the new agency. Shortly after the transfer, there was established within the Office of Education a separate Vocational Rehabilitation Division. Further autonomy and status was given to the service when, on September 8, 1943, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation was established as a constituent unit of the Federal Security Agency.

³ U.S. Congress, *Public, No. 16, 78th Cong., 1st Sess.* Act of March 24, 1943.

⁴ U.S. Congress, *Public, No. 113, 78th Cong., 1st Sess.* Act of July 6, 1943.

their recruitment and training must be based on a careful analysis of the nature of the task of rehabilitation and of the organization of the staff needed to carry it out. The experience of twenty-four years of vocational rehabilitation makes possible the type of analysis which follows.

THE REHABILITATION PROCESS

Vocational rehabilitation, broadly defined, means taking the disabled person as he is and seeing him through to the best vocational adjustment that he is capable of making. The end and aim of the service is always specifically vocational in nature; the means to that end cannot be so delimited. It hardly needs saying that the individual, disabled or otherwise, functions as an organic whole. It does need to be emphasized, however, because it has too often been disregarded in rehabilitation work, that the services the disabled individual may need in order to be fitted for employment must be adaptable to the whole infinite range of human needs.

Flexibility of approach is thus a primary requisite in vocational rehabilitation, and it is nowhere more important than at the point of intake. As in any case-work agency, applicants come to the rehabilitation service upon referral from a great variety of community agencies or upon independent knowledge of the service. The rehabilitation agency must also seek out those who might benefit from its services, because vocational rehabilitation is much more likely to be successful if undertaken early in the history of the individual's disablement, before patterns of response are conditioned by a long period of discouragement, frustration, and dependency.

All those who apply for service, whether on their own volition, on referral, or

on being sought out by the agency, come to their first interview with some preconceived ideas of the service, however vague or intangible they may be. Those ideas may often be threatening. Persons who are receiving workmen's compensation, for example, sometimes fear that this agency plays a part in a scheme to reduce their compensation. Others (or their parents) who fear surgery sometimes think they are to be induced against their will to submit to a corrective operation. Some, on the other hand, may have developed unrealistic or even fantastic vocational plans to shield themselves from any real facing of their problem, and they may resist realistic planning. Others may be confused and stunned by the catastrophe that has befallen them and in consequence lacking in the self-confidence needed to attack it. As with any case-work service, therefore, the first interview is of crucial importance in establishing relationship, and agency function needs to be carefully interpreted.

Preliminary to the provision of rehabilitation services is the determination of eligibility of the individual for service. Aside from the necessity of ascertaining the individual's financial need for the receipt of certain services and aside from considerations such as age and residence, there are two "basic criteria" of eligibility. The first is the existence of an "established handicap"; the second, "the feasibility of rendering the individual employable or more advantageously employable."⁵ Under the new law, as before, eligibility depends upon the existence of a disability which gives rise to a def-

⁵ U.S. Federal Security Agency, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, *Regulations Governing the Plans and Program of Vocational Rehabilitation Issued by the Federal Security Administrator, October 9, 1943* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1943), p. 11. (Sec. 600.16.A. [1].)

inite employment handicap. Now, however, those whose employment handicaps result from functional disorders may be eligible, while under previous federal law and policy eligibility depended upon the existence of a permanent physical disability.⁶

The second basic criteria, "feasibility," means simply a reasonable expectation of successful vocational rehabilitation in the individual case. Determination of "feasibility" requires study of the individual; it involves participation of the individual; and it depends upon the availability of resources and services appropriate to the needs of the individual. Feasibility, like treatability in other fields, may depend quite as much upon the degree of treatment skill which is available as upon the degree of handicap which the individual has incurred.

The first steps in the rehabilitation process are case study and diagnosis; the next, the development of a plan of rehabilitation. In practice, of course, as in any case-work service, there can be no neat division in the steps of study, diagnosis, planning, and treatment. The determination of "feasibility," for example, cannot be separated from planning; "feasibility" might, in fact, be defined as the possibility of working out a plan of rehabilitation that gives reasonable promise of success. The client may be started on his way to rehabilitation in the first interview when he comes to the agency to do something about his prob-

lem, and thus treatment in a very real though intangible sense is begun. The rehabilitation process, however, may be described as falling into definite stages with far more accuracy than most case-work activity.

The federal agency has long sought to promote among the state rehabilitation services careful and well-considered planning, a position that has been reinforced and extended in the *Regulations* of the new Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. Only if the rehabilitation plan is based upon a thorough understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the disabled person can his potential assets be properly capitalized. This means that a careful case study, often termed a "survey" by rehabilitation workers, must be made if the rehabilitation plan is to be soundly grounded and realistically oriented.

A social history needs to be assembled. The history, as in any case-work setting, should be highly individualized and selective and designed not to gather indiscriminately a great volume of personal information but to clarify the problem to be treated. Too often rehabilitation case studies have been made routinely with the "survey form" and not the individual client in mind. The objective is neither the compiling of a biography nor the gathering of personal data as an end in itself, but the assessing of the individual's social and vocational background in order to have a valid basis on which to assist him in mapping out his future vocational plans. To attain that objective, the case study cannot be approached routinely or rigidly; it must represent an exploration with the client of his problems and strengths, his needs and capacities.

This is not to say that certain areas may not rather universally be expected to be important in a rehabilitation case

⁶ U.S. Office of Education, *Administration of Vocational Rehabilitation* (Vocational Division Bull. 113, "Voc. Rehab. Series," No. 12 [rev. ed.; Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938]), pp. 1, 19, 23; as revised by U.S. Office of Education, "Amendments to Policies for Administration of Vocational Rehabilitation," Circular Letter No. 2217, from director, Vocational Rehabilitation Division, to executive officers of state boards for vocational education (Washington, April 1, 1940). (Mimeographed.)

study. Any future training must be laid upon past training, and so the educational history of the individual and his attitudes toward school and toward training may be expected to be significant. Similarly, previous employment experience is likely to be of great importance. The history of the disability and the meaning the disability may have to the individual always deserve close attention and analysis. If the applicant has not worked through his feelings about his disablement, his ability to utilize services to prepare him for employment may be problematic.

Always of primary importance in the case study is the determination of the physical capacities of the individual. It has aptly been said that it is not what has been lost but rather what remains that counts, and the assessment of disability itself should be positively and constructively oriented. Sound evaluation of physical capacity presumes competent medical diagnosis carefully interpreted to and thoroughly understood by the rehabilitation worker who carries primary responsibility for developing the rehabilitation plan.

In the so-called "neuropsychiatric case," the importance of diagnosis by a psychiatrist hardly needs even to be mentioned. In other cases, however—cases in which the disability may appear to be entirely physical—the services of a psychiatrist may be needed to evaluate the emotional stability of the client in relation to the requirements to be made of him in his vocational rehabilitation.

Account must be taken of the mental capacity, the interests, and the aptitudes of the disabled individual. The quality of professional service available for making evaluations in these areas is of critical importance. Discriminating selection and application of the diagnostic tech-

niques of clinical psychology are called for and, of equal importance, constructive interpretation to the client of the findings.

On the basis of the case study, the rehabilitation plan is then evolved. As in the study, the full and active participation of the client is essential to the development of a plan that he will accept both emotionally and intellectually. The plan, however, must be adapted not only to the abilities and wishes of the client but to a multitude of external factors. Most important among these are the availability of services and resources for preparing the client for the selected objective and the state of the labor market. Vocational rehabilitation is always expected to lead to a specific occupational objective. Obviously, an objective must be selected which the client has the capacity and desire to achieve, for which means exist by which he may prepare for it, and in which there are opportunities for employment.

The next step, preparation for the selected occupational objective, involves the marshaling of the appropriate community resources in behalf of the client to provide the services he needs. The first of these may well be medical or surgical care to reduce or remedy the disability. Psychiatric treatment may necessarily precede or accompany other rehabilitation services. Physical rehabilitation may involve physical or occupational therapy or both; an artificial appliance or brace may be required.

A most important part of preparing disabled individuals for suitable employment is, of course, the provision of vocational training. Usually the rehabilitation service does not itself establish training courses, and so a reliable training agency which offers adequate preparation for the particular objective, and

suit to the needs of the individual client, may be selected. The client may need books or tools, or he may need to have his living expenses taken care of while in training. These costs, and others, may be assumed by the rehabilitation agency.

During the course of preparation the rehabilitation worker is responsible for maintaining a continuing relationship with the client. Here again the relationship must be adapted to the individual need of the client. He may be a person who, with his tuition paid, is entirely self-directing and self-sufficient and who needs little or nothing from the worker. He may be a person who needs assistance in many different ways. He may need an understanding professional person with whom he can talk through his reactions to his training, his feelings about his handicap, or tensions in his home. The areas in which the worker must be prepared to offer real help cannot be limited to those vocational in nature. Treatment must be planned for and offered to disabled people with vocational problems. The vocational problems cannot be removed from the people for treatment. Through the rehabilitation worker, the whole range of resources that the community affords should be made available to the client. This means that the rehabilitation worker must be able to recognize needs and draw upon resources.

When preparation has been completed, the next responsibility of the rehabilitation agency is placement of the client in employment that is consistent with his capacities and preparation. Rehabilitation agencies are expected to make use of specialized placement services, especially the United States Employment Service; but federal policies have always held that placement was an

integral part of vocational rehabilitation for which the state agencies could not divorce themselves of responsibility. The present policies continue this position.⁷ After placement, a period of continued contact with the client is necessary to determine that he is satisfactorily adjusted to his employment and to give help with difficulties that may arise. Only then can vocational rehabilitation be judged to have been successfully accomplished.

PERSONNEL REQUIREMENTS

Before considering in detail the personnel needed in the program, certain essentials in vocational rehabilitation work deserve further emphasis. The rehabilitation agency offers a highly specialized program that, upon analysis, is revealed not to involve new or different services or even new or different techniques, but rather to represent a combination of services common to other community programs. It is the special purpose of that combination which distinguishes vocational rehabilitation as a specialized program.

At the very beginning of the rehabilitation program in this country it was recognized that this service of readjustment of disabled persons could not be accomplished by ordinary group educational methods. While the concept of individual adjustment was early accepted, the same acceptance has not been gained for its logical concomitant, the essential unity of the individual. The fact that the individual functions as a whole and therefore that his most "nonvocational" needs or problems may bear directly upon his vocational adjustment hardly requires elaboration. To require that the rehabilitation program comprehend the in-

⁷ U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, *Regulations*, sec. 600.21-22.

dividual as a whole is not to require that the rehabilitation agency seek to fill directly every human need. It does mean that the needs of people outside the usual area in which vocational rehabilitation operates should be recognized and that none should go unmet if the appropriate facilities for meeting it exist.

The applicant for rehabilitation service may have attitudes that must be worked through and modified before he can enter upon preparation for employment with hope of success rather than likelihood of disappointment. He may come from a family situation that may impede or obstruct his efforts to achieve a self-directed and satisfying vocational adjustment. While it is not the function of the rehabilitation agency to treat complex individual and family maladjustments, the rehabilitation worker should be able to discern their presence and recognize their implications in order to secure the co-operation of appropriate treatment services. Planning may have to await the outcome of such services, just as further planning may depend upon the degree of success of medical or surgical treatment. Thus, flexibility of approach is important.

If these concepts be accepted, the first essential in sound vocational rehabilitation practice, therefore, is the flexible organization of the program on a thoroughly individual basis and the comprehending of the individual as a whole in both the planning and the execution of services.

No one person can, however, have the knowledge and technical competence to perform or supervise the extension of the combination of services that may be necessary to effect the vocational rehabilitation of a disabled individual. One person cannot even make the study of the individual and arrive at a diagnosis and

plan, if the study is to be based upon the most exact and scientific knowledge of today. The services of one or more medical specialists, a clinical psychologist, a psychiatrist, and a social case worker may all be needed to assemble the facts on which to build a sound plan. The planning may require, in addition, an evaluation of training facilities, consideration of the special requirements of certain occupations, and knowledge of the occupations offering the best opportunities for employment.

The second essential in sound rehabilitation practice is, therefore, that the rehabilitation agency have at its disposal the services of a wide range of specialists. In recent years, and perhaps more especially in recent months, there has been growing recognition in the federal-state rehabilitation program of the value of specialists to serve as staff consultants. This is, indeed, a fortunate trend.⁸

Although no single person can represent a combination of the experts needed, the importance of continuity of relationship between client and worker was early recognized in vocational rehabilitation work. The technical advantages that may be inherent in having one worker supervise persons receiving artificial appliances or medical care, another supervise and advise only with persons during their training, another for placement, and so on, do not compensate for the losses in relationship with the client. Vocational rehabilitation is a service of individual adjustment, and, just as in other services of individual adjustment, the matter of relationship between client and worker is of fundamental importance. If the

⁸ The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation also recommends to the states the use of technical committees to advise the state services in the areas of medicine and surgery, education, and vocational guidance and placement.

service is to be organized on the highest professional level possible today, the client must be given an opportunity to experience a process of personal growth and development in the course of his rehabilitation. Frequent changes of worker or a confusion of advisers at any one time make achievement of this aim doubtful, if not impossible. A third essential in vocational rehabilitation practice emerges: the vocational rehabilitation agency should be represented in so far as possible in its relations with the disabled person by a single worker.

The acceptance of this principle—and it should be noted that this principle has generally been accepted in rehabilitation work—means that the one person who is to represent the rehabilitation agency in relations with the client should meet two major requirements. The first requirement is that the worker have a broad and scientific knowledge of human behavior practically applied and experience in dealing with people in sustained contacts. Not only must the worker be interested in the problems of the disabled and really care about people, but the worker must have an understanding and acceptance of them—their behavior and their reactions—that is disciplined as well as intuitive and that is based upon scientific knowledge. Only so can the worker analyze as well as sympathize; only so can the worker make the best use of the services of specialists. Effective service will depend upon the worker's being able to relate himself quickly to people and to maintain a sustained relationship with them over a period of time, for vocational rehabilitation is not accomplished overnight or even in most cases from one month to the next.

The second major requirement of the rehabilitation worker is ability to utilize the services of other specialists and to

draw upon community resources. Someone must be an expert at bringing together the experts. This person should obviously be the one who is to work directly with the client. The worker must have an appreciation of the knowledge brought to consideration of the individual case by the specialists; the worker must, above all, know where his own special competence ends. The rehabilitation worker should have an intimate knowledge of the whole range of community services and resources that may be called upon to assist in meeting the client's needs. Just as important as knowledge of the resources and agencies is the ability to make discriminating use of them and to co-operate with them in accordance with established and accepted principles and procedures.

By way of summary, it may be said that three major essentials in the organization of a vocational rehabilitation program emerge: (1) that the service be highly individualized and that it comprehend the individual as a whole; (2) that the program have at its disposal the services of qualified specialists; and (3) that, in so far as possible, direct work with the disabled individual should be concentrated in the hands of a single worker. That worker needs to have a deep and broad understanding of human behavior and the ability to work with people, an appreciation of the contributions of specialists to planning and treatment, and knowledge of community resources and ability to utilize them in work on an individual case.

If these essentials be accepted, then the personnel requirements in a sound program of vocational rehabilitation may rather easily be charted. Discussion of the rehabilitation process has already suggested some of the specialists whose services are needed. Their particular con-

tributions should, however, be analyzed further.

Now that the federal-state vocational rehabilitation program includes medical and surgical care to remedy or ameliorate physical disability,⁹ it is much more important than before that the rehabilitation agency have an organized relationship to the medical profession and medical agencies. Even when the rehabilitation agency could not itself pay for medical or surgical care, an organized relationship would have been highly desirable, because physicians and surgeons were always important in the evaluation of disability and because the rehabilitation agency was expected to *secure* the medical and surgical care which it could not *provide*.¹⁰

As existence of disability is the basis of eligibility in every case, a medical specialist might be the first to be considered. If the rehabilitation agency is to embark on a very large program of physical rehabilitation, a medical director or supervisor who is a physician or surgeon should head that part of the service, assisted by a medical social consultant. With the shortage of physicians, this goal will probably not be immediately attainable. At present, therefore, a medical social worker might undertake some of the ad-

ministrative duties that a medical director would be expected to carry in addition to those which distinctively belong to a medical social consultant.

First among these duties is the development of an organized relationship to the medical profession. This means, of course, the establishment of a professional advisory committee to assist in the formulation and revision of policies and standards; in the selection of medical resources to be used; in the determination of "maximum schedules of fees for surgery, therapeutic treatment, hospitalization, and medical examination, and for prosthetic devices," as required by law;¹¹ and in the development of a sound working relationship between the rehabilitation service and the medical profession. The medical director or, in the absence of such an officer, the medical social consultant may play an important part in assisting the state director of rehabilitation in the establishment and effective use of a medical advisory committee.

The more particular functions of the medical social consultant, however, would be to act as interpreter and coordinator between the rehabilitation worker and the medical profession. With respect to medical examinations to determine eligibility for service or to provide an accurate diagnosis as a basis for developing a plan of rehabilitation, the medical social consultant might explain to the physician the type of medical information of greatest usefulness and significance to the rehabilitation agency. Sufficient understanding of the client's physical capacity can seldom be obtained by the rehabilitation worker merely from study of a medical report form submitted by the physician. The consultant might

⁹ While the federal law passed in 1920 contained no restriction that might be expected to prohibit the use of federal and matching state funds for physical rehabilitation, and, indeed, broadly defined rehabilitation "to mean the rendering of a person disabled fit to engage in a remunerative occupation," federal policy drew what appears to have been a specious distinction between vocational and physical rehabilitation in order to prohibit expenditures for medical or surgical treatment (41 *U.S. Statutes at Large* 735 [1920]). The Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1943 specifically include provision for medical and surgical treatment (U.S. Congress, *Public, No. 113, 78th Cong., 1st Sess.*, sec. 3[a] [3]).

¹⁰ By the policies of the federal rehabilitation service (see U.S. Office of Education, *Administration of Vocational Rehabilitation*, p. 21).

¹¹ U.S. Congress, *Public, No. 113, 78th Cong., 1st Sess.*, sec. 2(a) (9).

therefore act as a channel of communication between the physician and the rehabilitation staff, seeking from the physician additional information when necessary, interpreting to the rehabilitation staff the significance of the physician's report in terms of the implications of the physical findings for rehabilitation planning.

In cases in which medical or surgical care is to be provided by the rehabilitation agency, the medical social consultant might be expected to examine the plans from the standpoint of the social factors involved. This would include assisting the rehabilitation case worker to evaluate the applicant's ability to cooperate in the medical treatment, offering counsel to the worker in case-work treatment related to the client's reaction to the medical or surgical care, and reviewing rehabilitation plans in the light of the results of the medical or surgical treatment. The medical social consultant might carry an occasional case in which the medical problem was paramount.¹²

Similarly, the rehabilitation agency needs to have access to psychiatric resources. The services of a part-time staff psychiatrist might save the agency much wasted effort and its clients much needless frustration. Not every case would need to be referred to the psychiatrist, and, of course, the most effective use of the psychiatrist would be possible only if the staff of rehabilitation workers were

competent to recognize doubtful or problem cases. If the rehabilitation agency is to serve many persons with mental disturbances or functional disorders, a psychiatric social consultant might perform functions similar to those of the medical social consultant.

Every sound rehabilitation plan must be based upon sound evaluation of the mental capacities, aptitudes, and interests of the disabled individual, just as it must take into account his physical limitations and emotional stability. This means the employment of a staff psychologist. With the use of skilled rehabilitation case workers to assemble the pertinent background material for the clinical psychologist and prepare the applicant for his interviews with the psychologist, the psychologist himself may devote his time to greatest purpose in line with his own special and peculiar contribution to rehabilitation work.

The psychological tests to be used should be selected on an individual basis and not by rule. Thus, it follows that a professionally oriented person is needed, a fully trained and experienced clinical psychologist. On the findings of the psychologist may hang a rehabilitation plan representing not only a considerable outlay of public funds but also a very large investment on the part of the disabled person in terms of his time, his effort, and his hopes and aspirations.

Because vocational training is the very key to many vocational rehabilitation plans, the services of educational specialists are needed. The curriculums and facilities of the various training agencies should be surveyed from time to time with a view to evaluating their usefulness as training resources for rehabilitation clients. Modification of training programs may need to be arranged in cases presenting special problems.

¹² In providing medical and surgical care, the vocational rehabilitation agency does not establish medical facilities but rather provides treatment through physicians in private practice, clinics, or hospitals. For this reason the physiotherapist and the occupational therapist are not included among the specialists on the rehabilitation staff. These specialists are very important in rehabilitation, but their services, which are provided on prescription by the physician, may properly be regarded as an integral part of the treatment to be obtained from the appropriate medical agencies.

When vocational training is to be obtained in a shop rather than a school, a vocational specialist should go over with the trainer the range of instruction to be given.

One educational specialist might serve on the staff of the rehabilitation agency. It would be his duty to assist in the planning of training, to offer consultation to the workers when training problems arise, and to assume responsibility for making or having made the surveys of training agencies already mentioned. One specialist could not be expected to have comprehensive knowledge of all types of vocational training. He might therefore be responsible for calling upon other educational specialists when necessary. Since vocational rehabilitation is administered by state boards for vocational education, an arrangement to utilize the services of such specialists should not be difficult to effect. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation recommends the establishment of a technical educational advisory committee.¹³

Finally, there is needed an occupational and placement specialist. This expert might be expected to make his particular contribution both in the planning stages and in the final placement in employment. The placement specialist would have two major contributions to make to planning: first, in the selection of a specific occupational objective which is appropriate to the capacities of the individual and in which he could compete on equal terms after preparation; second, in the selection of an occupation in which there is a demand for workers. After preparation for employment is complete, the placement specialist might review the case to decide on next steps. Co-operation with placement agencies would be

¹³ U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, *Regulations*, sec. 600.6.

the particular province of this expert who might act as a liaison agent between the rehabilitation and the placement agencies. He would give consultation service to the rehabilitation worker who plans to interview employers in behalf of a particular client. He could himself take responsibility for more general contacts with employers.

These are the specialists who are needed, and the quality of rehabilitation service will depend on their availability. It has already been indicated that one person should be responsible for direct work with the client and for co-ordinating the contributions of the specialists. Certain requirements that should be met by the person to fill that position—the rehabilitation worker—have already been set forth. Thus far, however, the training and experience necessary to enable the worker to meet these requirements have not been considered. One proposal might be to recruit the rehabilitation worker from the ranks of the specialists.

The physician, surgeon, and psychiatrist need not be considered, because no one would propose that they be employed as rehabilitation workers. Such a course would not only be unthinkable wasteful of specialized skill and talent; it would also fail to secure rehabilitation workers who would fulfil the requirements.

The clinical psychologist merits more serious consideration as rehabilitation worker.¹⁴ His special skill lies in individu-

¹⁴ Reference should be made here to a very interesting and able article by Dr. Richard M. Elliott, in which he surveys rehabilitation work from the point of view of the psychologist and points out "in what respects rehabilitation work is psychological in nature" (Richard M. Elliott, "Occupational and Vocational Rehabilitation," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLI [January, 1944], 47-58). The authors of this *Review* article recognize the indispensable contribution of the clinical

al analysis and diagnosis and in counseling the client with respect to his vocational objectives. These skills and knowledge are closely related to the skills in interviewing and the knowledge of human behavior required of the rehabilitation worker. In other respects, however, the clinical psychologist is less prepared as rehabilitation worker. It is not usually his function to supervise the extension of direct services to individuals; nor does his work ordinarily call for co-operation with a great variety of community agencies and organizations. Furthermore, the clinical psychologist seldom works with people over a long period of time.

The clinical psychologist, therefore, does not fully meet the requirements laid down for the rehabilitation worker. He may, moreover, spend his time to greatest purpose pursuing his own specialty, provided that the rehabilitation case worker meets the requirements already set forth and has an appreciation of the work of the psychologist, just as the worker should have an appreciation of the contribution of the other specialists. The worker needs to know what background material is of greatest use to the psychologist, how to prepare the disabled person for his interviews with the psychologist, what the later interpretations of the psychologist mean, and, if things do not go according to plan, when re-evaluation by the psychologist is indicated. Above all, perhaps, the rehabilitation worker needs to have an appreciation of the contribution of the psychologist so that he may not be tempted to substitute for a trained psychologist, although he may rather easily acquire certain testing skills.

cal psychologist to rehabilitation work, but they propose to conserve his special skill by confining his work to what has been his own field to a greater degree perhaps than Dr. Elliott has proposed to do.

The vocational rehabilitation program happened to be lodged in state departments of education, and hence many of the personnel have come from the field of education. They have not, however, been permitted to concentrate their efforts in their area of special competence, as educational specialists whose duties have already been described. Neither the training, the experience, nor, presumably, the interest of the educator qualifies him for the work of individual analysis and adjustment that is required of the rehabilitation case worker.

The occupational and placement specialist is trained in individual adjustment, but only in relation to occupational and employment factors. The task of rehabilitation goes back of that adjustment. Again, it should be emphasized that, while the goal of vocational rehabilitation is the satisfactory occupational adjustment of disabled individuals, the means to that end cannot be so delimited. The rehabilitation worker must be prepared to view the total adjustment of the individual.

Once it is accepted that the rehabilitation worker is not to "do all things" in the extension of the service, then it follows that the major requisites of the worker are the ability to understand the individual as a whole and work with people; the capacity to appreciate and to co-ordinate the contributions of the specialists; and the knowledge and skill necessary to make discriminating use of a wide range of public and private agency services and community resources. For reasons already given, it appears that none of the specialists fully meets all these requirements.

There is a professional group, however, from which the worker may be recruited whose training and experience meet the essentials that have been outlined. Anal-

ysis of the job of the rehabilitation worker makes it evident that the basic knowledge and the basic skills involved in this work are those of the social case worker. Social workers will recognize at once that this work—as defined here—is social case work despite the difference in setting and its specialized nature.

Social case workers are trained in study and analysis of the individual as a whole in classroom and in supervised field work, where under close supervision they begin the development of their professional skills. Experience broadens the understanding. Flexibility of approach is characteristic of practice in social case work. The social worker, except in certain specialized agencies, works with people over a considerable period of time. The social worker is experienced in supervising the extension of services that are not directly provided to individuals by the agency or organization employing the worker. Fundamental to social case-work practice is the discriminating use of community services and resources. The rehabilitation worker also needs to have an appreciation of the contributions of the specialists to the study of the individual, the planning of services, and the execution of that plan. The rehabilitation worker must be an expert at bringing together the experts. This is not new to the social case worker. The appreciation of the various specialties required of the rehabilitation worker does not find the social worker wholly unprepared. Indeed, social workers deal upon occasion with all the specialists mentioned.

This does not mean that every well-trained and competent social worker is prepared immediately to undertake the task of the rehabilitation worker and fulfill it with distinction. It does mean that the social case worker has the required basic skill and understanding upon which

an in-service training program may build. There can be no question that the job of the rehabilitation worker, even when supported by the necessary specialists, is highly complex and specialized.

The plan of organization of the rehabilitation staff proposed here meets the essentials that have been outlined. The rehabilitation worker carries primary responsibility for work with the individual client; planning is based upon pooled information. Problem cases could be staffed, with the supervisor of case work presiding and the various specialists and the worker bringing to the conference their knowledge of the client.¹⁵

Two major objections may be raised to this type of organization. The first is the cost of the highly skilled personnel. This objection is "penny wise," and it omits from consideration the real savings to be derived from effective rehabilitation work—savings which accrue from making disabled people self-supporting and self-sufficient.

The second objection relates to the difficulty of bringing together the client and the experts. No special problem is to be anticipated in cities; it is in the small towns and rural areas that difficulty may be expected. Even there solution of the problem would not be impossible.

The rehabilitation worker has always had to travel to the applicant for service and, under this arrangement, would continue to do so. But no more travel for the rehabilitation worker would be required. The client has always had to travel to centers of population for medi-

¹⁵ This type of clinic arrangement is to be distinguished from the widely discussed Connecticut Rehabilitation Clinics, at which the client himself appears before employer representatives. Staff meetings of the type advocated here would be attended only by professional persons on the staff of the rehabilitation agency.

cal examinations by specialists, for the fitting of appliances, and for training. Some additional travel on his part would be necessary, because the complete staff of specialists could be maintained only in the larger cities. The staff specialists might be expected to travel to centers of population throughout the state, perhaps especially to those centers affording specialized resources for medical examination and care. They might be expected to make these trips on a more or less regular schedule, in the manner of a traveling clinic. The additional travel of the clients should not prove to be too burdensome, and certainly the problem is no more difficult in this program than in crippled children's services.

TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT OF REHABILITATION WORKERS

With the staff organization proposed above, the task of setting qualifications for the personnel to man the service should not be difficult. Under the organization that has prevailed in the past, it has been practically impossible, for only in a small number of states has there been use of specialists in the various fields, and in no state has there been the complete group of specialists suggested here. In the absence of these specialists the rehabilitation worker has been expected to be a jack-of-all-trades and *ipso facto* master of none. While the federal agency has never discouraged the use of specialists, as specialists, its main emphasis has been put on getting as rehabilitation workers persons who had training or experience in *one* of the special fields, thus making the staff a combination of all the specialists except the physician, surgeon, or psychiatrist. This is reflected in its currently recognized qualifications for rehabilitation case workers. The educational standard is a college de-

gree with specialization in relevant fields. The statement reads:

The major educational preparation must have been in a field which reasonably can be interpreted as having some relationship to or as constituting a background for vocational rehabilitation. Preference will be given individuals whose major educational preparation (undergraduate or postgraduate) was in one of the following fields:

- (1) Occupational (Vocational) guidance
- (2) Personnel or Industrial management
- (3) Educational Administration and supervision—particularly in Vocational Education
- (4) Social Work
- (5) Industrial and Vocational psychology
- (6) Other fields of study in which individual treatment in relation to vocational adjustment is involved.¹⁶

In addition to graduation from college, the worker is required to have three years of employment experience or one year of graduate work in one or more of the specialized fields with two years of employment experience. At all events, at least two years "must have been in employment which reasonably can be interpreted as related to or as constituting a preparatory background for vocational rehabilitation service." The preferred fields of experience include the following:

- (1) Vocational rehabilitation
- (2) Vocational education
- (3) Workmen's Compensation—referee or other officer responsible for the adjudication of claim
- (4) Occupational (Vocational) counselling of individuals

¹⁶ U.S. Office of Education, Vocational Rehabilitation Division, "Reports of Committees, States Rehabilitation Council," Circular Letter No. 2461, from director, Vocational Rehabilitation Division, to directors and supervisors of vocational rehabilitation (Washington, June 8, 1943), p. 2. (Mimeographed.) These qualifications are more than the recommendation of an advisory group. They are, according to the "Plan Guide" of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, "used as a guide in considering for approval personnel standards shown in the [State] Plan" (U.S. Federal Security Agency, Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation, "Plan Guide" [Washington, 1943], p. 9. [Mimeographed.]

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- (5) Employment service—those engaged in the actual placement of individuals in industry
- (6) Industry or public service—personnel, or production manager
- (7) Educational administration or supervision¹⁷

A number of points in this statement invite comment. The first, to which attention has already been called, is that these various specialties are all recognized as preparing people for the same position and to do the same work. One would search in vain to find a common denominator of the fields in this list. They are not different names for the same thing; they have not a nucleus of common content with different emphases; they are different fields of work, requiring different knowledge and different skills. It is not possible to get a qualified rehabilitation staff by putting a worker educated in social work next to a worker educated in industrial and vocational psychology, with each carrying responsibility for the clients in his district. Certainly, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation should make up its mind which of the fields offers the best preparation for the task it wants the rehabilitation worker to do and suggest the appropriate qualifications in this field. Whatever field is selected, the worker carrying the cases must be supported by specialists in the other fields if a satisfactory service is to result. As already indicated, it is the thesis of this paper that the rehabilitation worker needs the skills of a social case worker.

A second point to be noted is that the amount of preparation required in the various fields is probably inadequate to obtain for the rehabilitation service the contribution from these fields that it needs. Discussion of the preparation that would be needed to qualify people as experts in each of these specialties is be-

yond the competence of the authors of this paper. It seems clear, however, that if the function of the specialists were defined as it has been here, each field could suggest the appropriate preparation.

The training and experience required in the field of social service, however, merit some discussion. Social workers certainly will regret the omission of social welfare from the fields of qualifying employment. It seems particularly unfortunate, as well as illogical, to omit it here when education for this field is recognized as valuable. In other words, a person who prepares for work in social welfare and finds employment in an alien field may qualify, whereas a person with the same education who works in his own field cannot. The effect, of course, is to rule out the people who have real skill in social service, particularly in case work. Almost equally to be regretted is the little recognition given to graduate professional education. One year, indeed, may be substituted for one year of employment experience. But, as is well known, the professional course required for recognition in the field of social welfare takes two years. Hence again the really qualified social worker is at a disadvantage. One might question also whether it should be necessary to require beginners in vocational rehabilitation to have any employment experience, if they have had the two years of graduate professional education.

It is easy to see that these standards are unsatisfactory. A more important question is what standards should be suggested. Here it seems necessary to look both at the desirable goal and at the standards that might be feasible immediately. Unfortunately, it must be recognized that the standards social workers would like to see adopted—standards that would provide the best service—could not

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

be put into operation immediately. It is important, however, to have these standards in mind in order that the immediate steps taken may lead toward them.

These optimum or long-run standards can be easily stated. They should provide for two years of graduate education in an approved school of social work, with a specialization in the field of vocational rehabilitation. It may be objected that the schools of social work are not offering such specialization. That is certainly true, but it does not follow that they could not and would not offer it if there were a demand for workers with this knowledge. There are no insuperable difficulties to be encountered. It calls for no drastic change in the schools' program but rather demands the basic content required for any worker in the social welfare field with a specialization in the second year of the program. Specialization of this type has been provided for the medical social worker, the psychiatric social worker, the child welfare worker, and others. It consists of a group of relevant classroom courses and field work in the area of specialization.

The classroom courses needed for the vocational rehabilitation worker could be easily arranged. Indeed, most of them are already available in some department in the University of Chicago and probably in most universities with which schools of social work are connected. They are available to social service students and are taken by some of them today. A few new courses might need to be developed, but there is every reason to think that the schools of social work would be glad to do this. The point is that there is room in the two-year curriculum for the necessary courses without sacrifice of the content required for all social workers.

Specialized field work for vocational

rehabilitation presents more of a problem. It is impossible to develop a sound field-work program in any field until there are available agencies in the field with high standards of professional practice and with qualified social workers on their staffs. It is probable that many of the schools of social work would not find the practice of the vocational rehabilitation service in their communities acceptable for field-work placements. This is not to say that the service is not doing acceptable work along the lines it has laid down for itself; it is to say that it is not doing the type of work that a school of social work could consider a form of social case work. Even this, however, is not an insurmountable difficulty. If the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation really wanted this training, it could doubtless find means of developing something like demonstration centers in the communities where schools of social work are found, with provision for the specialists' services proposed in this paper and with qualified social case workers carrying the work with the individual client. Then field-work placements for social service students could be arranged without difficulty. It is possible that a school might provide acceptable field-work experience to a group of students under its own qualified supervisor. This could be done, however, only if the local office of vocational rehabilitation was in sympathy with the new approach, understood it, and was willing to co-operate with the student unit. If the regular workers in the service felt threatened by it, the chance of valuable field-work experience would be slim indeed.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the schools of social work would be not only willing but eager to co-operate in any such program of preparation of vocational rehabilitation case workers.

They cannot do so, however, unless they have encouragement from the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the state offices. They need even more than the assistance with the field-work program already mentioned. They need some recognition of the value of the training they are prepared to give, so that the students with this training have a reasonable chance of employment in the service. They need some assurance, too, that the work of rehabilitation will be so organized that the rehabilitation case worker will have the resources needed for the accomplishment of the task. The schools cannot encourage students to prepare for a field that does not want them or that will not offer them a chance to do a satisfactory job. Particularly is this true today when the demand for qualified social workers is far in excess of the supply.

Even though the schools stand ready to offer the needed preparation for the field, it is clear that this would not solve the problem immediately. Another approach to the attainment of the desired standards promises quicker results. That is to set the educational standard for induction into the service at two years of graduate professional education in social welfare without requiring specialization in vocational rehabilitation. This would bring into the program workers with the basic knowledge and skills needed for the task, but it would be necessary to provide an in-service training program to give the additional content needed to enable the worker to function in a new setting. The Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1943 specifically authorize expenditure of funds for training of persons in the service for a period not to exceed six weeks. It should be possible to give qualified social workers the additional knowledge needed in this period, if the services of specialists in other fields

are available as proposed here. The content of the short courses could be worked out to acquaint the worker with special problems created by various types of handicaps, with some of the more promising opportunities for handicapped workers in industry, with the history and organization of the vocational rehabilitation program, and with enough knowledge of the fields of the specialists to facilitate working with them intelligently. Actually, some of this content is probably incorporated in in-service training courses provided in the vocational rehabilitation service today, with the addition of content in case work. As used for the workers with widely different backgrounds who enter the service now, the courses are clearly inadequate. The skills of the social case worker which the rehabilitation worker must use cannot be learned in any six-week period. They are not a bundle of tricks but are an art based on understanding. One of the advantages of the organization of the service proposed in this paper is that it makes possible constructive use of the short training periods provided for by law.

Two approaches to the problem of getting social workers equipped as vocational rehabilitation workers have been suggested. Either plan outlined would provide the service with qualified workers, and both plans could be carried on simultaneously. It is believed that in this way, and only in this way, would it be possible to get workers with the qualifications needed for a satisfactory service. It is clear, however, that the plans suggested would not at once provide workers in the numbers needed. The second plan outlined would provide workers quickly if there were an abundance of qualified social workers from which to draw. With the present shortage of social workers, however, it would be unrealistic to expect

to attract any large number to take positions in the vocational rehabilitation program. The other plan obviously takes time. It becomes necessary, therefore, to consider some less satisfactory plan that might be adopted as an interim measure.

The first suggestion to be made is a simple and obvious one. As there will probably not be enough social workers available to fill the positions of rehabilitation case workers, an effort should be made, first of all, to get enough qualified workers to put a case-work supervisor in every state. This position is provided for in the service, but, unfortunately, in so far as the task has been defined, emphasis has been put on the administrative aspects of supervision rather than on the function of the supervisor in increasing the ability of the worker to provide the best service to the client. The function of the case-work supervisor should be redefined to bring it in line with that of the case-work supervisor as it is understood in the field of social welfare. In brief, the case-work supervisor should be given responsibility for improving service to the clients and the power necessary to discharge this responsibility. The standards set for this position should be those recommended for the rehabilitation case worker, with the additional requirement of experience in case-work supervision in the social welfare field.

The second suggestion is that, for a period of time, the minimum standard for rehabilitation case workers be set at two quarters' or one semester's work in an accredited school of social work. Such workers would not be qualified social workers. They could not and should not be expected to have specialized in vocational rehabilitation. They would have started the basic professional education and should be ready to accept and welcome the help of the case-work supervi-

sor. This, in itself, is a great gain. One of the most difficult tasks confronting any case-work supervisor of untrained workers is to overcome their resistance, based often on their fears and insecurity in their jobs.

With a good case-work supervisor, with specialists available for the services needed, with a group of rehabilitation workers who had the basic elements of professional social service education and a short course in vocational rehabilitation subjects, it should be possible to get a service for handicapped people far better than any we have ever known. That should not obscure the fact that it would not be as good as it could become. Plans should be worked out whereby the workers would be encouraged by educational leave, on pay if possible, to complete their professional education. Possibly even a time could be set within which all workers would be expected to qualify as professional social workers with a specialization appropriate for vocational rehabilitation.

Is this plan suggested for immediate adoption practicable? Would it be possible, that is, to get the forty-eight case-work supervisors needed and the requisite number of workers with five or six months' training? It is impossible to answer this question with a categorical "Yes" or "No." Certainly, social workers with the qualifications required for case-work supervisors are in great demand today; they would have to be enticed away from positions they are now holding. Certainly, many agencies in the social welfare field which accept beginning workers with two quarters of professional training are unable to find such workers to fill their vacancies. There is another side to the picture, however, which is more encouraging. There are always some social workers qualified by

education and experience who are interested in practicing their profession in a new field and doing a job that can be considered experimental. This is particularly true when the new field lies as close to their central interests and offers as rich opportunities for constructive work as does vocational rehabilitation. Furthermore, the salary scale proposed by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is relatively high, so that financial inducements would not be lacking.¹⁸ It might not be possible to find forty-eight qualified case-work supervisors, but it should be possible to find something approaching that number.

For new recruits, too, vocational rehabilitation would have an attraction that is hard to estimate in advance. It seems quite possible, however, that the knowledge that six months in a school of social work would qualify people for beginning positions in vocational rehabilitation would attract to the schools many young persons who do not now think of social work as their field of interest. This is particularly true at present when the attention of thoughtful young people is turning to the tasks of reconstruction, and when the current and prospective war casualties call attention to the problems of the physically handicapped. Whether enough new recruits would be found in this way could be learned only by experience. Certainly, scholarship and maintenance grants offered for this training period would make an adequate supply more certain. At present, these are not available, and there is no objection to seeing how many workers could be obtained without them. If necessary, how-

ever, government funds should be used for scholarships to provide a supply of workers with the minimum training imperative for a rehabilitation worker. To be sure, the law makes no provision for such expenditure; but laws are subject to change. If the need is there, it must be met. The nation cannot afford a poor or mediocre service of vocational rehabilitation.

Social workers will find nothing very new or startling in this paper. The analysis of the task of the rehabilitation worker will have said to them at once, "This calls for a social case worker." The suggestions for the qualifications to be required of such workers and for methods of recruiting them for the service follow a pattern with which they are familiar in other specialized services. Their doubts, if they have doubts, will more probably relate to the acceptance of these ideas by the vocational rehabilitation service. Those who have observed the service in most of the states may well say that this calls for a complete reorganization of a type that is almost revolutionary.

This conclusion, however, would be premature. Anyone who has followed closely the developments of the last few years, and particularly the most recent statements of policy issued by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, will see that there are very few suggestions in this paper that are not along the lines in which the service is already moving. The use of specialists as consultants, the formation of advisory committees in various fields, and the program of in-service training are all being promoted by the federal agency and being adopted by a number of states. The only new element in the program suggested is the requirement of preparation in social case work for *all* rehabilitation workers. Even that is hardly revolutionary, for the service

¹⁸ The U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has proposed for rehabilitation workers a minimum salary of \$2,400, a normal salary range of \$2,800 to \$3,400; and, for senior rehabilitation workers, \$3,400 to \$4,000.

has recognized the value of this preparation for many years; it has not recognized it as the only preparation, and it has not set standards for training in this field that would bring in the best-qualified workers.

The question then becomes one of whether the vocational rehabilitation service can be expected to take this next step. Prediction is always hazardous, but there is some evidence that it might do so. Certainly, there is every indication that the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation is revising its policies and moving forward today. It is clear, too, that it is seeking help in its attempt to get an ever better program for the industrially handicapped and that it recognizes even more clearly than its predecessor of 1920 the importance of qualified personnel in the service. That it has not seen the necessity for requiring training in social case work for every rehabilitation worker may very well be the fault of the social work profession. What efforts have we made to acquaint the people responsible for the vocational rehabilitation service with what social workers have to offer? What interest have we, as a profession, taken in their long struggle to achieve status as a permanent program and to obtain adequate appropriations to make an effective service possible? Have we not, rather, been so preoccupied with the

programs in which the value of social case workers was already recognized that we have almost turned our back on the vocational rehabilitation program and its needs? When this has been the attitude of the social work profession, it is not surprising that the vocational rehabilitation service has not taken the initiative in approaching us.

Our shortcomings of the past are important only as they point the way toward hope for the future. It seems clear that if the rehabilitation service is to recognize the unique contribution of social case workers, social workers will have to take responsibility for making known their potential contribution and their interest in obtaining an opportunity to make it. This is a strategic time to move in this direction. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has indicated that it is aware that personnel standards need to be reconsidered and that it proposes to study both fields of experience and educational programs to determine their value in qualifying people for rehabilitation work.¹⁹ Social workers cannot afford to wait to be asked; they must offer their help immediately.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

¹⁹ U.S. Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, "The Administration of War and Post-war Rehabilitation of Handicapped Persons" (Washington, February 10, 1944), p. 11. (Mimeographed.)

PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICES IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1898-1941

AGAPITA MURILLO

SPANISH ADMINISTRATION, 1521-1898

AMONG the important changes brought about in the Philippines after the American occupation in 1898 were the revolutionary improvements in the field of public health and public welfare. Under the long history of the Spanish administration¹ in the Philippines the standards of hygiene and sanitation and medicine were very low. It was estimated that forty thousand people died annually of smallpox; periodic epidemics of cholera took thousands of lives; bubonic plague visited the Islands frequently; and tuberculosis, malaria, dysentery, beriberi, intestinal infections, and malnutrition kept a large proportion of the population in a condition of partial debility. The infant mortality rate had been extremely high, and a high general death rate had held the population stationary for centuries.

Few hospitals² had been established

¹ Joseph Ralston Hayden, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development* (1942), p. 638.

² See Gregorio F. Zaide, *Philippine History and Civilization* (Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1939), pp. 384-85. The first hospital established was the Hospitalito de Santa Ana (Little Hospital of Saint Ana), founded in Manila, the capital city of the Philippines, by Brother Juan Clemente, a Franciscan lay brother, in 1578. From this hospital originated the Hospital de San Juan de Dios and the San Lazaro Hospital. The San Juan de Dios, which began as a small structure in 1577, was used principally for the care of lepers. It was rebuilt in 1593 but suffered various disasters until the cornerstone of the present institution—a modern general hospital—was laid in 1728. Other existing hospitals in Manila were: Hospital de San Gabriel, established by the Dominican Order in 1587; Hospital Real (now Sternberg Hospital), erected by the Franciscan Order in 1612; Hospital Bagumbayan, opened by the congregation of San Juan de Dios in 1645;

for the care of the sick, and those were for the most part operated by the religious orders, whose benevolence was greater than their scientific knowledge.

Various attempts were made to bring the results of scientific medicine to the Philippines before the American occupation. The first practitioners were the early missionaries. As early as 1862 a plan was made to introduce the study of medicine in Manila, and in 1871 the University of Santo Tomás opened its medical course. Many Filipinos who attained medical fame in subsequent years were graduates of the University of Santo Tomás. Special mention should be made of Dr. Eliodoro Mercado, authority on leprosy; Dr. Gregorio Singian, famous surgeon and philanthropist; Dr. Fernando Calderón, former director of the Philippine General Hospital, dean of the University of the Philippines College of Medicine and Surgery. The medical profession at that time was conducted upon a high ethical plane, but its scientific qualifications were not high when judged by modern standards. However, the men in the medical profession held positions of distinction in the community.

In the field of social welfare, various institutions³ had been established for or-

and the following provincial hospitals: Hospital de Aguas Santas in Los Baños, founded by the Franciscans in 1602; Hospital San José in Cavite, founded by the congregation of San Juan de Dios in 1641; Leper Hospital in Laoag, founded by Friar Vicente Febras in 1814; Leper Hospital in Cebu, founded by Bishop Romualdo Gimeno in 1850; and Hospital de Lazareños de Palencia in Nueva Cáceres, founded by Bishop Francisco Gainza in 1873.

³ Zaide, *op. cit.*, p. 385.

phans and for other homeless children, notably the College of Santa Potenciana, Santa Isabel College, and Asilo de Loo-ban,⁴ or Colegio de San Vicente de Paul. The regular orphanages and asylums were the Real Hospicio de San José, founded in 1810 by Royal Decree of 1806; the Asylum of Mandaluyong, founded in 1882 by the Augustinian Mothers, and the Asylum of Tambobong (Malabon), founded in 1883 by the Augustinian Fathers. In Cebu a charitable institution called Casa de Socorro ("House of Help") was established by Bishop Martin García in 1887.

There was no hospital provided for the care of the insane. The patients were commonly chained or tied to the floor under the houses or in yards. They were not infrequently left in such an unprotected condition that they were burned alive during fires. This deplorable situation continued on into the present decade, as evidenced by a case seen recently by the writer, who was making a survey of social conditions in Zamboanga in March, 1940, for the organization of the Regional Social Service branch of the Public Assistance Division of the Bureau of Public Welfare.

In this particular case the patient was found tied to a wooden post of an almost dilapidated nipa-wooden house, alone and naked, like a monkey. She had evidently been a pretty-looking lady, twenty-nine years of age, and had been a teacher in the public school for two years before she became insane. The stepmother, father, and two aunts refused to commit her to the psychopathic hospital, believing she would not be well treated in the hospital. Public officials, city district health officers, and nurses had not been successful

in persuading the relatives to place her in an institution, and she had remained in the most miserable condition for nine years, with no one to care even whether she ate or drank.

On the writer's interview with the family, the father asked for a longer time to make up his mind, since he wanted to consult with other relatives. An appointment was made to see them the next day. On the second visit the mayor, by request, accompanied the writer to see the girl and the family. Surprisingly, the girl identified the mayor, called him by name, and seemed happy to see him. The mayor talked with the father and aunt, both of whom finally accepted the suggestion of committing the patient to the psychopathic hospital at Manila. The city health officer was requested to prepare her commitment papers, steamship transportation was provided by the government, and within two days the girl was admitted to the institution.

The treatment of the insane had been one of the black spots upon the record of the Philippines as a civilized country. In most cases the patients were chained under the family residence or confined in jails. Only a few of the insane were more humanely cared for at San Lazaro Hospital in Manila during the early period of the American regime.

THE AMERICAN PERIOD AFTER 1898

In no field of government were greater and more important—and necessary—changes wrought in the Philippines after the American occupation in 1898 than in the field of public health and welfare. The Bureau of Health, through its health officers, had supervision over the institutions and asylums which had been organized under the Spanish regime, as well as such newly established organizations as the Associated Charities, Gota

⁴ This institution gave vocational instruction, care, and protection to orphan girls under fifteen years of age, as well as to nursery boys and girls.

de Leche, women's clubs, and the Tuberculosis Society of the Philippine Islands. There had long been a desire to co-ordinate all these different organizations under one head in order to avoid duplication of effort and to secure the greatest efficiency.

In June, 1914,⁵ the secretary of public instruction called together officials from the different bureaus and offices of the government for the purpose of discussing a plan by which a public welfare organization might be created. As a result, legislation was passed for the creation of a special board to administer all charitable and social services.

PUBLIC WELFARE BOARD, 1915-21

The Public Welfare Board,⁶ as created by Act No. 2510 on February 5, 1915, and amended by Act No. 2745 on February 18, 1918, was intrusted with the duties of carrying on the following activities:

To study, co-ordinate, and regulate as far as possible and practicable the efforts of all government agencies and influences interested in public welfare or social service work, and of such private agencies or organizations as receive government support for similar ends; to secure as far as possible a wise expenditure of all government funds appropriated for charity and all public welfare purposes; to promote, inspect, and regulate the organization of private institutions for charitable purposes and to investigate social conditions in the Philippine Islands, with a view to relief or other remedy where necessary; to receive and appropriate such sums or properties as may be provided by law or raised through public contribution to take care of charity cases, or for other general public welfare purposes.

To maintain an office in the city of Manila for the conduct of the business of the Public Welfare Board, for the investigation of social

conditions, and the dissemination of publications tending to promote the betterment thereof.

To establish and maintain, within the provisions of existing law, social centers, and other agencies, with the suitable personnel, for the public welfare in such places as may be determined, and to expend for the support of the same such sums as may be necessary.

To be an advisory committee to the Secretary of the Interior in all matters pertaining to public charity and welfare.

To appoint and organize a committee of citizens to help it in its work and to co-ordinate public and private efforts for public welfare and social service.

Originally the Public Welfare Board consisted of thirteen members, five of whom were appointed by the governor-general, with the others, who were government officials, serving as ex officio members. Later, the number of members was reduced to five, all appointed by the secretary of the interior. Two of the members were physicians.

The Public Welfare Board acted as an agency for controlling the disbursement of public charity funds to such public and semipublic organizations as those described below.⁷

1. *Gota de Leche*.—This institution, which was operated in Manila by "La Protección de la Infancia" for the purpose of child hygiene and welfare, conducted free consultation service for mothers and also for babies needing artificial feeding. There were three physicians in attendance in 1924, who gave 150 consultations to 186 babies, 76 of which were old cases. During the year 1925 the institution extended its benefit to 197 children. Fresh milk was distributed at cost to those who could afford to pay and was free to those who were indigent. This institution ran its own dairy farm and a modern laboratory for the preparation of milk suitable for the feeding of

⁵ *Report of the Bureau of Health for the Philippine Islands, December 31, 1914*, p. 8.

⁶ *Fourth and Fifth Annual Report of the Public Welfare Commissioner of the Philippine Islands, January 1, 1924, to December 31, 1925*, p. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 251.

babies. At the end of 1924 the farm had 32 Australian milking cows and calves. From various sources, such as membership fees, private donations, and gifts, the institution received 10,331 pesos and from the Insular Government through the Public Welfare Commissioner 12,000 pesos, a total of 22,331 pesos, for the year 1924. In 1925 the institution spent a total of 17,334 pesos.

2. *Liga Nacional para la Protección de la Primera Infancia*.—This institution⁸ gave prenatal and postnatal instructions to mothers and treated babies in the dispensaries. The work for the year 1921 in Manila included 1,280 consultations for 1,280 different babies; conference with 5,225 mothers who attended; and 13,923 first and second visits to homes made by a nurse. There were reported to be 16 deaths among babies that received consultations. The financial statement in 1921 was as follows:

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Total amount given by the Insular Government..... | 7,000.00 pesos |
| Total amount derived from other sources..... | 2,704.24 |
| Total expenditures..... | 9,704.24 |

3. *Settlement House of the Asociación de Damas Filipinas*.—This institution, located in Manila, provided temporary accommodation and protection to orphans, abandoned and neglected children, and a shelter for women who were abandoned, divorced, or victims of disaster. Orphans whose status was doubtful for admission to a government orphanage were first placed in the Settlement House pending the result of the investigation. In other words, the institution was a sort of clearing house for destitute children, giving them temporary shelter until final disposition had been

determined. Insular aid given in 1925 was 7,200 pesos, and the total expenditures of the institution were 13,163 pesos.⁹

Other institutions, more or less of a private character, received financial aid from the government to help carry on their activities in the field of public health and welfare. The principal organizations of this group are described below.

1. *The Philippine Islands Antituberculosis Society*.¹⁰—The program of the antituberculosis society included preventive work, as well as rendering service to those who were actually suffering from tuberculosis. The preventive work included education of the public, day and night consultations in clinics, home visits by physicians and nurses, and the operation of its modern sanatorium. In 1924 the society spent 302,853 pesos, of which amount the government contributed 36,000 pesos. The organization also distributed pamphlets and posters describing and illustrating various phases of tuberculosis in order that knowledge of this disease—which had been a scourge in the Islands—might be disseminated more widely. Talks in clinics, illustrative materials, lectures, lantern slides, exhibits in carnivals, participation in public parades—all were forms of the educational program conducted in cities and provinces.

2. *The Associated Charities of Manila*.—This agency maintained some constructive charity work as an independent organization under the supervision of the Public Welfare Board. A member of the board acted as executive secretary. The Associated Charities rendered various

⁹ *Fourth and Fifth Annual Report of the Public Welfare Commissioner*, pp. 250-51.

¹⁰ The society established Santol Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Santa Mesa, which later expanded and served as a nucleus of a larger, modern sanatorium, which is now known as the Quezon Institute.

⁸ *First Annual Report of the Public Welfare Commissioner, 1921*, p. 25.

services to the community by extending relief to the destitute, the sick, the unemployed, the aged, and the infirm and by giving vocational training particularly to mothers and widows in order to make them self-supporting. The organization also helped to strengthen relationships between members of a family and attempted to educate the public in constructive charity. It also gave practical training and experience to students of the School of Public Health Nursing of the University of the Philippines and the Harris Memorial Training School for Girls.

3. *Federation of Women's Clubs.*—Recognizing the importance of women's clubs to the country, the Public Welfare Board gave technical as well as financial aid to the National Federation of Women's Clubs, which was the central coordinating body of all women's clubs in the Islands. The salary of the executive secretary was paid from government funds. These clubs devoted a great part of their activities to the improvement of health and sanitation in the community. The clubs also assisted in the observance of Mother's Day, Clean-up Week, etc., and the publicity of various activities of the clubs in cities and provincial towns. In 1925 the Federation of Women's Clubs, as a whole, spent 5,038 pesos, of which amount the government appropriated 1,891 pesos.

BUREAU OF DEPENDENT CHILDREN

The Bureau of Dependent Children,¹¹ as organized by Act No. 2815, passed on March 4, 1919, was the outgrowth of the Government Orphanage established by the Insular authorities at Makati, Rizal, in 1917. The following were among its powers, duties, and functions:

¹¹ *Fourth and Fifth Annual Report of the Public Commissioner*, p. 11.

To provide orphaned or needy children with means for their care and education and training in a useful trade or occupation at some suitable institution until they shall be able to begin to earn their own living. The Director of the Bureau of the Dependent Children shall for all legal purposes be the guardian of every child under his care.

To provide the necessary care for children who are invalids since their birth or have become such through disease, or who are in need of institutional treatment.

To care for, educate, reform, and correct minors admitted to the institution as committed by the courts of justice and that no discharge shall be made without the knowledge and consent of the committing court.

OFFICE OF THE PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSIONER, 1921-31

On February 24, 1921, it was enacted (Act No. 2988) that the activities of the Public Welfare Board, the Bureau of Dependent Children, and the administration of a 1,000,000-peso¹² fund for the protection of early infancy and the establishment of maternity and child welfare centers should be grouped together into one office called the "Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner" under the Secretary of the Interior.

The act also provided for the public welfare commissioner to investigate, promote, co-ordinate, inspect, and regulate all the work related to maternity, hygiene, and child welfare in the Philippines. Provisions were also made for maternity hospitals, puericulture centers,¹³ dispensaries, and other establish-

¹² On February 23, 1914, Act No. 2633 was passed by the legislature appropriating 1,000,000 pesos for the protection of early infancy and the establishment of local organizations for that purpose.

¹³ In a town of three to five thousand inhabitants, raising at least 1,000 pesos extending Insular aid, as much as two-thirds of the sum was needed to operate a puericulture center for a year.

The center might be located at the heart of the town. Technical personnel included a part-time physician and a full-time public health nurse. Volun-

ments for the care of children and for the instruction and training of personnel.

On March 16, 1923, Act No. 3094, which conferred certain powers upon institutions for the care of orphan, homeless, neglected, or abused children, was approved. This act provided that the public welfare commissioner should supervise

any public institution or any benevolent or charitable society incorporated under the laws of the Philippines and duly authorized therefore by the Secretary of the Interior through the Public Welfare Commissioner . . . to receive, control, train, educate, care for, dispose of, place out for adoption and consent to the adoption of any child under 18 years of age and to prescribe rules and regulations pertaining thereto with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior.

On December 3, 1924, Act No. 3203 was passed, which provided:

Any public institution, Insular, provincial or municipal, including those of chartered cities, established or that may hereafter be established for the care, custody, correction, education, and training of orphan, homeless, neglected, abused, defective and delinquent children, shall be under the supervision and administration of the

teen members were also used and were valuable assets to the success of a center.

The puericulture center is an institution established so that every mother and expectant mother can attend and their babies and children may be taken there so that the condition of their health and development may be ascertained and such advice obtained as is necessary "for the proper care and prevention of the common ailments of infancy and childhood. The main purpose is to keep babies and mothers always well by furnishing mothers with the knowledge of preventing needless sickness—to promote intelligent motherhood in order to give the baby a good start in life."

The best agency to establish a puericulture center is a women's club or any duly organized agency. If no organization exists, a corporation may be formed at the call of the municipal president or other prominent persons in the town to establish such a center.

A puericulture center is believed to be the "cheapest as well as one of the most effective means of reducing infant mortality and raising the standard of development of the children."

Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner, and the system of instruction to be adopted therefore shall be conducted as part of the school system under the control and jurisdiction of the Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner. These institutions shall be known as industrial schools . . . not as reformatories or correctional schools.

The Public Welfare Commissioner, subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, shall have the following powers and duties:

- a) Power of a police officer and the authority to designate persons who because of the nature of their official duties have to exercise such powers
- b) Power to make investigations with regard to all matters relating to his official duties
- c) Power to prescribe the authority to be exercised as the head or superintendent of each industrial school under his jurisdiction
- d) Power to approve plans for the construction of school buildings erected by the municipalities, provinces, chartered cities, and the amount of land required in each case¹⁴

By way of summary, the aim of the Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner was to promote all work directed toward the early reduction of infant mortality in the Philippines by employing adequate means for this purpose and carrying out other activities pertaining to the general welfare of the community, especially the services for children. A central executive office was maintained in Manila, which investigated social conditions and compiled social information for distribution. Social centers were promptly established throughout the Philippines. In December, 1922, there were 183 puericulture centers, as compared with only 80 in December, 1921. In 1923 the number had increased to 263; in 1924 to 300; and in 1925 to 318.¹⁵

The Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner was created in conformity with the provisions of the act and had devel-

¹⁴ *Fourth and Fifth Annual Report of the Public Welfare Commissioner*, p. 12.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

oped before the war to promote (1) maternity and child hygiene work, making provision for assisting in the reduction of infant mortality in the Islands; (2) the proper care of destitute and other dependent classes of people, including delinquent children; and (3) the encouragement and co-ordination of efforts for the improvement of living conditions in the Islands and for charitable purposes.

Probation and parole.—The new activities that were undertaken in 1925 as part of the new responsibilities intrusted to the Office of Public Welfare Commissioner by the Philippine legislature were the establishment of probation and parole work and the management of the reformatories for minor delinquents who were transferred to the administrative control of the welfare office. A Probation Section was created in the Child Welfare Division of the Office. A site for an institution was acquired, and buildings for the newly created unit were constructed.

Great difficulties were encountered in carrying out the activities already started, because of the lack of adequate funds and a sufficient number of trained personnel to cope with the demand of the ever increasing number of public welfare activities. Through judicious expenditure of funds and with the assistance of staff and field officers and employees, the Office had been able to maintain the ground already gained and had also developed the new activities mentioned above. The officers and members of the puericulture centers, including ex officio treasurers who were municipal and provincial treasurers, rendered voluntary service to these organizations. They deserve special commendation for their support and co-operation, which contributed a great deal to the success of the maternity and child hygiene work¹⁶ of the Office.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, 1932-35

In 1932 the Bureau of Public Welfare was created by Act No. 4007 passed by the Philippine legislature.¹⁷ The bureau was given all the powers, functions, and duties hitherto belonging to the Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner,¹⁸ with the exception of those concerned with maternal and child hygiene, all of which were transferred to the Bureau of Health.¹⁹

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 15. The infant mortality rate in the Philippines had always been very high. In 1916 the mortality rate was 50 per 1,000 in New Zealand, 100 per 1,000 in the United States, and 170 per 1,000 in Japan, whereas in the Philippines the rate was 320 per 1,000 (rates for New Zealand, the United States, and Japan are taken from the figures provided by the U.S. Children's Bureau; the rate for the Philippines is the average for the period from 1913 to 1917). This unfortunate situation attracted the attention of the government authorities in 1912, although as early as 1907 there existed in Manila an organization known as "La Gota de Leche," the activities of which were directed against infant mortality. In 1916 the Philippine legislature passed Act No. 2633, appropriating the sum of 1,000,000 pesos for the protection of early infancy and for the establishment of "Gotas de Leche." Soon after its creation in 1921 the Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner undertook to look into the problem of infant mortality in the Islands. The Office, through its Maternity and Child Hygiene Division and Nurses' Service, endeavored to reduce the infant mortality by establishing puericulture centers and maternity houses where mothers could go for consultation and advice on intelligent motherhood and the care of children, by co-ordinating the child welfare movements undertaken by the different government and private organizations and institutions, and by training and maintaining suitable personnel to direct and undertake the operation of puericulture centers and the establishment of maternity homes and schools for the training of orphans or destitute children.

¹⁷ *Annual Report of the Director of Public Welfare, Bureau of Public Welfare, Commonwealth of the Philippines, January 1 to December 31, 1938*, p. 5.

¹⁸ As provided for in Act No. 2510, amended by Acts Nos. 2745 and 2988, and further amended by Acts Nos. 3202, 3309, 3559, and 3725.

¹⁹ This transfer was provided for by Act No. 4007—An Act To Reorganize the Departments, Bureaus, and Offices of the Insular Government and

In addition to the Division of Administration, the Bureau of Public Welfare had two other divisions which carried out its main functions—the Division of General Welfare and the Division of Child Welfare.

The Division of General Welfare was in charge of the promotion, encouragement, and co-ordination of government and private activities for charitable purposes. It worked for the improvement of social conditions among the poor and exercised supervisory power over charitable institutions like the Hospicio de San José de Barili in Cebu (an institution for the aged, infirm, and insane). It also co-operated with other governmental welfare agencies like the National Relief Administration²⁰ (later known as the Social Se-

To Make Other Provisions for the General Welfare of the People.

"SEC. 14: The Philippine Health Service, the Office of the Public Welfare Commissioner, and the Tuberculosis Commission are hereby abolished as separate bureaus or offices, and all powers and duties heretofore exercised by them under existing provisions not inconsistent with this Act, are hereby transferred to the Bureau of Health and the Bureau of Public Welfare which are hereby created: Provided that the Secretary of Public Instruction is hereby authorized to allocate said powers and duties between these two bureaus in accordance with the following general basis: those pertaining to public health, sanitation and hospitals, including the Southern Island Hospital, should be assigned to the Bureau of Health, and those pertaining to social welfare to the Bureau of Public Welfare."

²⁰ The National Relief Administration handled government relief work in times of disasters and consolidated all government and private relief and health agencies in rehabilitation work among calamity sufferers. Unemployment was handled through the Department of Labor by the placement of the unemployed in public works projects undertaken by the government.

In dealing with the distress caused by the great typhoons and floods of 1934 and 1935, this machinery demonstrated its superiority over previous relief activities of the government and private organizations. In 1934, five unusually destructive typhoons occurred between October 16 and December 4, and during the first week in December a serious flood wrought havoc in Cagayan Valley. Pursuant to its policy, the government assumed

curity Administration), the Philippine General Hospital, and the puericulture centers operated by the Bureau of Health in Manila.

The Division of Child Welfare took care of orphaned, delinquent, destitute, and mentally defective children, including nonleprous babies from Culion, through the government child-caring institutions located at Welfareville,²¹ Man-

responsibility for all relief measures necessitated by the disasters, and the legislature appropriated 1,000,000 pesos for the work (Act No. 4160, December 1, 1934).

As in the past, the efficiently directed Philippine Chapter of the Red Cross received appropriations from Washington. All relief work was organized under the supervision of the National Emergency Relief Board. When the acute distress had been relieved, fifteen rehabilitation units were sent into the devastated area. Each unit consisted of a doctor in charge, three public health nurses, an agronomist, and the necessary helpers. These units provided intensive services for the prevention of epidemics and promotion of social and economic rehabilitation of the people. Of special importance were their activities in assisting the *barrios* (village) people in planting and cultivating quickly growing crops to supplement poor supplies. Seeds and other material used for this purpose were supplied by the government. This new type of organization was highly successful in preventing disease and in minimizing the terrible aftereffects of typhoons and floods.

As a part of the program to improve the condition of isolated groups of the Filipino people, the government expanded health-social services to the non-Christian population—a program which utilized public health nurses and traveling clinics to take health and social work into the homes of the people throughout these remote areas, all of which produced satisfactory results.

²¹ At Welfareville the following institutions were located: (1) the Philippine Training School for Boys and the Philippine Training School for Girls, which provided for the care and education of delinquent boys and girls; (2) orphanage: Department A, to provide for the care and education of destitute children; Department B, to provide for the care and education of children of leprous parents; (3) nursery for nonleprous children below two years of age, to provide care and education of children of leprous parents born in Culion; (4) home for mentally defective children, to provide care and treatment for boys and girls who are mentally defective; and (5) home for the aged and infirm, to provide institutional care for such persons who are destitute.

daluyong, Rizal. In addition, it supervised recognized private child-caring institutions like the Settlement House of the Asociación de Damas Filipinas, the functions of which were stated above under the discussion of the Welfare Board, the Good Shepherd Convent (for the care, correction, protection, and training of young girls and woman, mostly of American parenthood), and the American Guardian Association (to feed, clothe, educate, and give shelter to needy children of American-Filipino parents).

The American administration introduced the recognition of social work as a profession. Modern methods and standards of social service developed rapidly in the Philippines. The movement for reforms in the treatment of minor delinquents, both in the institutions and in the courts, including the introduction of probation work among minors, was developed. Organizations, such as maternity houses, puericulture centers, and schools for midwifery were established and were responsible for the dissemination of knowledge on maternal and child care. These organizations had contributed to the reduction of infant mortality throughout the whole country. The children's village, established at Welfareville, provided practically every aspect of child care and training.

Any review of the welfare work brought to the Philippine Islands by the Americans shows the long-standing need of such services, and the great progress made was full of encouragement for the future. In other fields, such as education, progress was also very great; but it is believed that the American welfare activities that were transplanted in the Islands have been less well known in their far-reaching effects.

COMMONWEALTH WELFARE SERVICES, 1935-41

In two respects the Commonwealth period was unique in the history of public welfare service in the Philippines: (1) for the first time the Filipinos were in complete control of this aspect of the government and (2) after 1937 the Philippines had had at its disposal funds for the rapid development of public services. In 1916 the Philippine Autonomy Congress had reserved in American hands a special authority over public health administration. The Jones Act of 1916 provided that the Bureau of Health should be included in the Department of Public Instruction, of which the vice-governor, a presidential appointee, was made the head. In 1935 this power and responsibility passed from Americans to Filipinos. Two years later approximately 120,000,000 pesos,²² representing nearly a three-year accumulation of funds raised by an excise tax upon Philippine coconut oil sold in the United States, suddenly became available to the Commonwealth government for undreamed-of means to meet the increasing responsibility. Appropriations for this purpose were increased, official interest was maintained, and the health and welfare services were energetically and efficiently administered. The social services were expanded at a rate which had been previously unknown.

Recent developments.—By the end of 1938 the following provisions had been made for the care and treatment of the sick: (1) Provision had been made for 2,000,000 pesos to aid in the construction and equipment of additional hospitals in the provinces; (2) a sum of 1,000,000 pesos had been appropriated to aid municipalities in the construction

²² Hayden, *op. cit.*, pp. 668-71.

of public dispensary buildings, 200,000 pesos for the equipment of such buildings and 250,000 pesos for the operation of dispensaries in remote *barrios* ("villages"), and by 1941, 12 new hospitals and 939 new public dispensaries had been established; (3) a sum of 2,000,000 pesos had been provided for the extension and improvement of the Philippine General Hospital and 325,000 pesos for the Baguio General Hospital; (4) provision had been made for the use of 1,500,000 pesos in the construction of additional facilities for the care and treatment of 1,000 additional insane patients.²³

Provisions were also made for the care and protection of the "socially inadequate" classes. The effectiveness of the community health-social centers in Manila, Cebu, Iloilo, Zamboanga, and Negros Occidental increased, and their work was further co-ordinated with that of other governmental agencies.

Unemployment offices for the registration and placement of all persons seeking employment were established. A total of 500,000 pesos was appropriated for the construction of additional buildings for the care of orphans, destitute, underprivileged, handicapped, and crippled children, and for the home of the aged and infirm at Welfareville.

Provisions were also made for disaster relief. An appropriation of 3,000,000 pesos was set up for National Relief Administration—a development from the National Emergency Relief Board, which had been established in 1934—to function in co-operation with the Philippine Red Cross. During 1935 several attempts were made to amplify and strengthen the national organization for public relief.

²³ In 1941 a 500,000-peso general hospital was opened in Baguio, and a cancer institute was established for research and treatment of cancer at Manila.

In August, 1940, a National Security Administration was created for the purpose of further consolidating the government's relief activities and of co-ordinating them with those being undertaken by other relief organizations.²⁴

The program of public welfare visualized and completed up to 1935 continued during the Commonwealth. The activities of the Bureau of Public Welfare had been expanded in various ways in the provinces, cities, and towns of the Philippines. Efforts were made to increase further the services for the benefit of the provinces. The first step in the ever expanding program was an appropriation of 1,000,000 pesos for the establishment of provincial social welfare agencies which received local and private financial support. Twenty social welfare districts, embracing the whole Archipelago, were planned. By March, 1941, five such welfare districts had been started. These centers were located at Lingayen, Pangasinan, for the Northern Luzon district; Naga, Camarines Sur, for the Bicol region; Cebu for Cebu; Zamboanga for Mindanao; and Iloilo for Iloilo. These organizations were started in response to requests from provincial governors and mayors. First, they requested and petitioned for a general social survey of their provinces, the results of which revealed the extent of the services needed and the necessary personnel for carrying on the work.

Surveys were made in the various districts by a nurse-social worker consultant and two case workers of the Bureau of Public Welfare, in co-operation with the existing welfare agencies in each particular district—for instance, the bureau of health, hospitals, women's clubs, the department of labor, agriculture and in-

²⁴ The unit was created by Executive Order No. 299, August, 1940.

dustry, and the mayor of the city. Upon the completion of the survey, organizations were developed in accordance with the findings and recommendations proposed. The agencies thus created performed the important and urgent welfare work and, at the same time, promoted local interest in social and welfare activities. The development throughout the Islands of work that the Bureau of Public Welfare performed so well before the war for the metropolitan area was a great step toward overcoming the handicaps which, in general, accompany ignorance of health problems.

In the city of Manila the Bureau of Public Welfare had to expand its services continuously in order to meet the increasing needs. In connection with children charged with disobedience and truancy and referred to the bureau for supervision, it was found that home control was very lax and that parents were relying too much on the courts to straighten out their troubles with their children. In connection with this class of delinquents, therefore, the probation section of the bureau found it necessary to recommend the creation of a Child Guidance Clinic, where children showing conduct problems at home and school and also those charged with disobedience in the courts by their parents might be handled extra-judicially in order to prevent, as much as possible, such cases from reaching the courts. The probation officer could take care of only those cases that had been brought to court, but he had no opportunity to aid children below nine years of age unless the parents themselves referred the case directly to the bureau. It was for such cases below nine years of age that the Child Guidance Clinic was considered as a means of handling a most difficult problem.

In order to meet the need for efficient

service in the handling of home problems, a Child Guidance Clinic was organized in October, 1938, as one of the sections of the Child Welfare Division of the Bureau of Public Welfare. Because of the lack of sufficient funds, the personnel utilized for this organization was borrowed from the different divisions of the bureau—for instance, the psychiatrist from Welfareville gave part-time service, three times a week, to the clinic. The psychologist from Welfareville also gave part-time service three times a week. Three social workers from the General Welfare Division of the bureau, as part-time workers, made investigations, did follow-up case work, and made arrangements for placements, if necessary. In addition to these workers, a male and a female physician from the General Welfare Division assisted the psychiatrist, and a probation officer from the Probation Section of the bureau assisted the psychologist.

Cases referred to the Child Guidance Clinic were from the Probation Section of the Bureau of Public Welfare, from public and private elementary schools, or from individuals and parents. The superintendents of different schools in Manila, after receiving circulars from the Bureau of Public Welfare concerning the facilities which the clinic offered, sent their visiting teachers with problem children for personal observation and requested that the teachers be given experience, if possible, in handling problem cases. As a result, the teachers were given extensive opportunities to observe and to assist in such activities as intake, investigations, interviews on the part of the psychiatrist and the psychologist, and follow-up visits with the social workers in the homes of the children.

For the most part, the parents participated wholeheartedly in carrying out

the social treatments, which made the work encouraging and successful. The schools used the facilities extensively, and even the schools outside Manila sent petitions to the bureau to extend the services to them. These requests were made possible by using the same squad of personnel to go to the different schools at least once a month for each school.

In addition to the routine activities of the clinic, the psychiatrist gave lectures to parent-teacher associations and to teacher groups in the respective schools during each visit made. Boys and girls needing group-work activities were referred to boys' and girls' clubs and to Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. centers existing in the community. All families of the cases investigated who were found to be indigent were referred to the bureau for relief in cash or in kind to improve further their living conditions.

Public Assistance Division.—Another activity which was recently added to the Bureau of Public Welfare was the creation of a Public Assistance Division on July 1, 1941.²⁵ The main functions of this division were as follows:

- I. To conduct, supervise, and administer all forms of public assistance
 1. Extend family service to all those who on account of economic difficulties or social problems required direct or home relief
 2. Specialized service:
 - a) Give aid to dependent children
 - b) Give aid to the needy, deaf, and blind
 - c) Render service to crippled and other handicapped children
 - d) Give aid to beggars and to other physically incapacitated persons
- II. To supervise the Regional Social Services, continue to organize more branches to com-

²⁵ The Division of Public Assistance was formerly the Associated Charities of the Philippines. The accompanying chart presents a graphic illustration of the personnel and functions of the Division of Public Assistance and shows the interrelation of the various workers and activities.

plete the twenty social districts of the whole Archipelago, as planned when the appropriation of 100,000 pesos was made by the legislature prior to September, 1938, these regional branches to extend further the activities of the Public Assistance Division outside the city of Manila and to meet the needs of the urban and rural people of the provinces

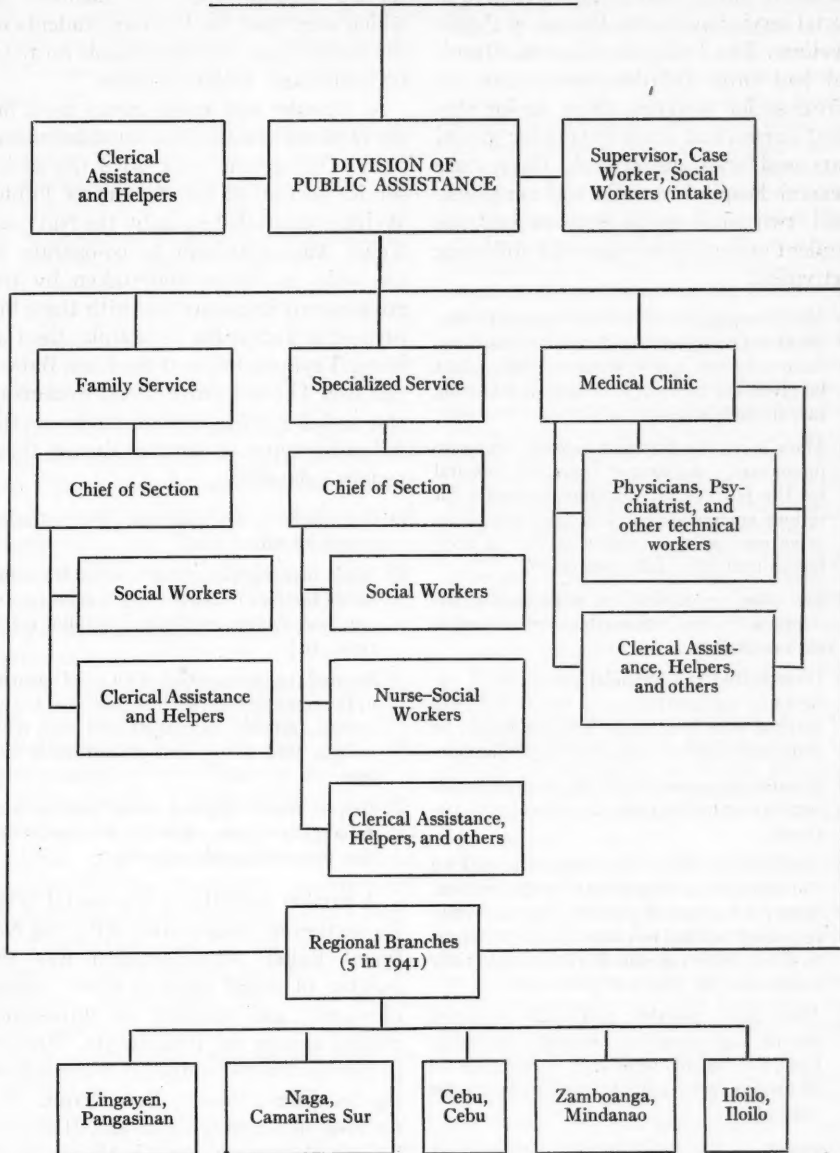
Co-operative activities of the Bureau of Public Welfare with other government social agencies.—From time to time the personnel of the Bureau of Public Welfare were asked to co-operate in organizing other new social agencies which the Commonwealth government created as a part of the social justice program. The chief agencies thus organized will be only briefly discussed herein.

1. *Community health social centers.*—In Manila²⁶ and the provinces, community health social centers were organized to work with and assist the Bureau of Health. The functions of these centers were a combination of health, dispensary, and social rehabilitation work.²⁷
2. *Extension services.*—The Bureau of Public Welfare co-operated with the Philippine General Hospital and the Bureau of Health by lending one nurse-social worker consultant for extension services, assisted by a physician and pub-

²⁶ There were five community health social centers in the city of Manila and six in the other large cities in the provinces.

²⁷ The functions of the centers included the consultation and treatment of special cases, including infants and children, pregnant mothers (sick and well), tuberculosis cases, home and nursing care, dental services, obstetrical service, social rehabilitation, and health supervision. They served also as practical field-training stations for health officers, public health nurses, and sanitary inspectors; as a means of determining the most efficient procedures of combating the ravages of preventable diseases peculiar to urban communities in the Philippines; and as demonstration centers for carrying out the various functions of a modern public health organization and securing a more effective general education and stimulation of public interest in community health.

BUREAU OF PUBLIC WELFARE



lic health nurses who had been trained in social service under the Bureau of Public Welfare. The Philippine General Hospital had three full-time physicians, six nurse-social workers, three senior student nurses, and three drivers for special cars used for extension work. Other state general hospitals usually had one physician, two nurse-social workers, and one student nurse who assumed the following activities:

- a) Made arrangements whereby patients who could not be accommodated in the hospitals, because of the lack of funds or beds, might be given the necessary medical and nursing care in their homes.
- b) Made it possible for those patients who were prematurely discharged from the hospital for the purpose of providing vacancies for serious emergency cases to continue to receive medical and nursing service in their homes until they fully recovered.
- c) Performed rehabilitation work among patients of the institution who were in need of such assistance.
- d) Investigated the financial condition of patients in the institution, in order that only patients who were really indigent should be given free medical service or hospitalization.
- e) Assisted the personnel of the hospital in disseminating health education among the patients.
- f) Assisted the chief of the hospital in making the necessary arrangements for the removal from the hospital of patients who were fully recovered but had no place to go or no means to defray their expenses in returning to their homes in other towns or provinces.
- g) Made daily, monthly, and yearly narrative reports and compiled necessary statistics. Complete records were kept of each case to be used as case studies by medical and nurse students.

These extension services which had been started in March, 1935, were accepted and well established in all the general state hospitals. Funds were appropriated for the activities of the extension

service organizations, the facilities of which were used for training students of the medical and nursing schools for public health and welfare services.

3. *Disaster and social survey work for the National Social Security Administration.*—During the year 1938 the social service section of the Bureau of Public Welfare was called upon by the National Relief Administration to co-operate in the relief activities undertaken by the government in connection with three big fires—the Tondo fire in Manila, the Calauag, Tayabas, fire, and the Lian, Batangas, fire. The five nurse-social workers of the social service section rendered the following types of services during these serious calamities:

- a) Organized and conducted concentration camps for fire victims
- b) Made investigations to determine the number of families in acute need of relief (clothing, food, shelter, medical aid, building materials, etc.)
- c) Secured the co-operation of all relief agencies in the communities, such as hospitals, health centers, schools, municipal and city relief boards, Red Cross, and philanthropic citizens
- d) Helped school children whose parents were among fire victims, including free matriculation fees and rentals of books

A further activity of the social service section in co-operation with the National Relief Administration was the making of social surveys where unemployment and scarcity of subsistence existed among the inhabitants. Surveys of this kind were conducted in the following localities: Cavite, San Roque, and Caridad of Cavite; Cebu and Iloilo cities; in thirteen towns of Nueva Ecija (Aliaga, Guimba, Lupao, Muñoz, Quezon, Jaen, Cuyapo, Licab, Zaragoza, Nampicuan, San Antonio, Santo Domingo, Talavera); San Miguel, Bulacan.

All unemployed and indigent persons in the above-named localities were registered and investigated as to their needs. Steps were also taken to aid them, such as:

1. Arrangement for work with the Bureau of Public Works through the provincial or municipal relief board and the district engineer
2. Securing of seedlings for cover crops from the agricultural division for those who had land to cultivate
3. Referring of cases for medical relief to the Bureau of Health, clinics, and hospitals, as well as cases for institutional care and other placements at the Bureau of Public Welfare

Department of Health and Public Welfare.—Another most significant aspect of the Commonwealth was the enlightened policy in expanding the social services of the government. The health-welfare program was an essential broader drive for "social justice," which had become the most important policy of the Quezon administration.

The data pertaining to public welfare services, already presented and discussed, are sufficient to show that the government was building up in the field of public welfare a physical plant for the administration of public health services.

Until 1940 the health and welfare agencies of the Philippine government were grouped in the Department of Public Instruction, but in 1941 a separate Department of Health and Public Welfare was established. Dr. José Fabella was appointed as its first head. The act which created the organization read as follows:

Pursuant to the provisions of the Commonwealth Act No. 430, and by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by said Act, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, do hereby authorize and direct the organization of the Department of Health and Public Welfare effective January 1, 1941.

The Department of Health and Public Welfare shall be charged with the protection of the health of the people, the maintenance of sanitary conditions, and the proper enforcement of the laws and regulations relative to health, sanitation, food, drugs and narcotics, slum housing, garbage disposal, relief, and other social services, and for these purposes, it shall exercise executive supervision over the Bureau of Health; the Bureau of Public Welfare; the Bureau of Quarantine Service; the Board of Medical Examiners; the Board of Pharmaceutical Examiners, the Board of Dental Examiners; the Board of Optical Examiners; the Board of Examiners for Nurses; the health departments of chartered cities; the provincial, city and municipal hospitals, dispensaries and clinics; the public markets and slaughter-houses; health resorts and establishments; and all charitable and relief agencies, including institutions for the care of aged and/or infirm and of dependent, defective and/or delinquent children, supported, whether wholly or partially, by the Government or any of its branches or instrumentalities.

The activities, functions, and duties of the Secretary of Public Instruction in connection with sanitation and health matters, whether imposed by law, executive order, or regulation, are hereby transferred to, and shall hereafter be performed by, the Secretary of Health and Public Welfare.

The transfer to the Department of Health and Public Welfare of the bureaus, offices and services enumerated in the second paragraph hereof shall take effect as of January 1, 1941, or as soon thereafter as practicable, but not later than January 31, 1941.

The necessary fund for the organization and establishment of the Office of Secretary of Health and Public Welfare and for its maintenance until the next fiscal year shall be taken from the forced savings in salaries of the wages and sundry expenses of the bureaus and offices of the Department of Public Instruction and shall be expended in accordance with a budget to be approved by the President.

The unexpected balance of funds or appropriations and the personnel, equipment, materials, records, and other properties pertaining to the bureaus, offices and services enumerated in the second paragraph are hereby transferred to the Department of Health and Public Welfare. The Auditor General and the Commissioner of the Budget shall make the necessary adjustments of the appropriations affected thereby.

Upon the organization of the Department of Health and Public Welfare, the Office of the Commissioner of Health and Welfare, and the Council of Hygiene shall be abolished and their functions and duties transferred to said Department.

Done at the City of Manila, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord, nineteen hundred and forty-one, and of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the sixth.

[Signed] MANUEL L. QUEZON
*President of the Philippines*²⁸

²⁸ Commonwealth of the Philippines, *Monthly Bulletin of the Bureau of Health*, XXI, No. 1 (January, 1941), 26-27.

Thus the long-awaited creation of this Department of Health and Public Welfare was launched. Public health and social workers were jubilant about the new plans and program. Through Dr. José Fabella's meritorious twenty-seven years of service in the government, he earned a position (secretary of the department) of trust, confidence, and wholehearted co-operation of the constituents. The port of health and public welfare would have been safely reached had it not been for the war.

NEW YORK CITY

SOME SPECIAL ELIGIBILITY PROBLEMS IN THE ILLINOIS AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN PROGRAM

CAROL GOLDSTEIN

ILLINOIS, the first "mothers' pension" state in 1911, moved slowly in changing the mothers' aid law to bring it into conformity with the federal social security requirements for a grant-in-aid for aid to dependent children; and the Illinois A.D.C. statute¹ was not enacted until June 30, 1941. The administration of the law was placed with the county departments of public welfare under the supervision of the state Department of Public Welfare; but by action of the state legislature in June, 1943, the supervisory authority for this program and for old age assistance and aid to the blind was transferred to the Illinois Public Aid Commission,² the state relief agency which allocated the state relief funds to the city of Chicago and to the other local authorities meeting certain requirements of local taxation and need.

In Cook County the County Bureau of Public Welfare administers the program, and A.D.C. has been established as a special service in the Public Assistance Division with a separate staff.³

The Illinois A.D.C. program is supported by state and federal funds. Although the statute does not have a maxi-

mum grant limitation, a ruling of the state office has restricted the grant to the matching basis specified in the federal Social Security Act—\$18 for the first child and \$12 for each additional child—making it impossible for any family to manage upon the A.D.C. income alone; hence in cases without other resources supplementation from relief funds is necessary. That is, state appropriation for A.D.C. is so inadequate as to make necessary the use of local poor relief agencies, and families receiving a grant from this source become or remain a part of the general relief load of the local relief agency—the Chicago Welfare Administration—and subject to relief policies. However, this does not mean that local funds rather than state funds are called on. The Illinois Public Aid Commission allocates the large state relief fund, so that the A.D.C. supplementation is still largely state money, although it reaches the A.D.C. family not via I.P.A.C. and A.D.C. but via I.P.A.C. and the local relief authority. The A.D.C. staff has full case-work responsibility, but the inclusion of the old poor law philosophy in the administration of a modern welfare law has been a cause of confusion and distress to clients and to staff.

In 1941 an estimated 95 per cent of all A.D.C. families in Chicago were in need of funds in addition to the grant. In

¹ *Illinois Revised Statutes, 1943* (State Bar Assoc. ed.), chap. 23, "Charities," sec. 340.1 ff.

² Formerly the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission.

³ A well-qualified A.D.C. staff was selected according to professional standards set up by the Civil Service Commission; but staff turnover has been high, the civil service list for case workers is exhausted, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to replace trained and experienced personnel. At the present time the staff consists of 109 field workers,

of whom 18 are case aides carrying full loads, 18 supervisory workers, 5 assistant district supervisors, and 1 supervisor of case work. As a standard case load 75 cases per worker was recommended; but the standard load approved by the state office is 100 cases per worker.

July, 1943, the number had declined to 48 per cent, though it is probable that the percentage will rise again as wage-earning families become self-supporting and the load is reduced to include only families who have no wage-earners. However, in March, 1944, 51 per cent of the families had some income, usually from the wages of a working mother or a school child or a relative in military service, but needed the grant to assure even a minimum standard of living. It is possible that the gain in the number of families not in need of supplementation will continue as long as jobs are plentiful. The total case load in July, 1943, was 12,525 families; in March, 1944, the number had decreased to 10,505 families.

At the same time that the Bureau has been trying to secure sufficient funds, it has also been formulating standards of eligibility apart from economic need. The Illinois A.D.C. statute⁴ follows the language of the federal statute in stating the family conditions that make the child eligible for public assistance and contains, in addition, a provision that the home shall be "suitable."⁵ The statute is the legal basis for the program, but it is the attitude of the administration toward family relationship and domestic

⁴ The Illinois A.D.C. law provides that the dependent child to whom aid may be given is "a needy child under the age of sixteen, or under the age of eighteen if in regular attendance at school, who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of the parent, and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle or aunt, in a place of residence maintained by one or more of such relatives as his or their own home" (*Illinois Revised Statutes, 1943*, chap. 23, sec. 340.2).

⁵ The Illinois A.D.C. law requires the administrator "to take into consideration the suitability of the home in relation to the standards of care and health, fixed by the laws of the State and by rules and regulations of the State Department, including the social and educational opportunities of the child

obligation that gives it breadth and meaning. The operation of the law in Cook County, Illinois, which includes the metropolitan area of Chicago, is examined in the following pages. What are the administrative policies in relation to the security of the child's home?

A body of opinion has been developed that interprets the mutual responsibility of the family and the agency. The underlying purpose has been the protection of the child, and to this end the policies have been kept open and flexible. In order to know how to bring some security to the threatened home life of the child, and to decide the circumstances under which this can best be done, the administration has become concerned with the father who must support and care for his children in the absence of the mother, the incapacitated father who is unable to support his family, and the stepfather whose responsibility is limited. The mother commands attention when she is less well able to care for the children because of the absence of the father. The fact that he is out of the home is less important, however, than his status in relation to the family; and the child's eligibility varies with the specific cause of absence—death, divorce, separation, desertion, prolonged hospitalization, imprisonment, or military service. The unmarried mother receives a consideration equal to that shown any other mother. The attitude toward the homes of relatives is not entirely clear. The ties of kinship are appreciated, but a relative's home is to be more critically evaluated than the own home. Occasionally, prevailing opinion is cloudy, and the fostering and protection of its particular religious faith" (*ibid.*, sec. 340.3).

According to the current practice in the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, the parental home is not evaluated in terms of suitability or unsuitability.

some confusion seems to stem from the fact that the conditions of eligibility are met by the parents or relatives in order to establish the child's eligibility. The law quite clearly classifies A.D.C. as a children's program; but determination of eligibility focuses attention upon the parents or relatives, and as a result they, rather than the children, may become the center of administrative and case-work interest.

An attempt will be made here to examine some of the problems that arise in connection with establishing eligibility in certain types of A.D.C. applications.

THE FATHER AND THE CARE OF MOTHERLESS CHILDREN

It is usually expected that a father will furnish support and a mother care to the children, but either may have done so and either may apply for aid because of the loss of support, or care, or both.⁶ When the mother is absent, it becomes the duty of the father to provide care for his motherless children, and the agency is ready to assist him in his task of maintaining a home for them. In the few instances where this is necessary, it is assumed that the father will want to work and that he may need a housekeeper to perform some of the mother's former duties. A father in full-time employment who is unable to afford this service may receive a grant "in an amount to cover only the cost"; if he had only part-time employment, the grant may supplement his earnings. If the unemployed father employs a housekeeper or if he remains at home to care for the children, "A.D.C. funds may be granted to meet the entire needs of the

family, although the county has no funds apart from the grant." In many motherless homes the older children or relatives take over the mother's responsibility. However, where the children can care for the home or be given care without pay by a relative or by friends who live with the family, the children are not eligible for A.D.C. funds.⁷

Theoretically, an unemployed father is free to assume the role of homemaker, and there is nothing in agency policy to suggest that he could not continue in this role indefinitely. Actually, the situation does not seem to have arisen in which an able-bodied father has preferred to care for his children rather than to support them. The agency, therefore, has had no occasion to submit a case for administrative opinion. It would be interesting to have an opinion with regard to an able-bodied father's ability to give the motherless child sound care and training and with regard to his primary responsibility.

The absence of the mother from the home gives rise to many problems. It is true that there may be older children or a relative who may assist in housekeeping arrangements. But two very practical questions concern the selection of the housekeeper and the father's delegation of responsibility for the management of the home. The agency has standards by which to determine the qualifications of a competent homemaker, but it has no resources of its own to aid the father in selecting one. His selection may have to be based on expediency rather than on competence, and the amount of the wage seldom guarantees adequate and dependable performance. It is not an easy home to which to offer case-work service, however badly such service may be needed; and what is accomplished will depend

⁶ Illinois Public Aid Commission, *Manual of Policy and Procedure*, Sec. IV, "Determination of Eligibility," chap. 5, "Lack of Parental Support or Care in Establishing Eligibility for Aid to Dependent Children," p. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

upon the intelligence of the housekeeper and her interest in the children. The father must allow her to exercise authority over the children, and he usually accepts her judgment about their welfare. He wants peace at home, and he will put up with a person of meager ability rather than run the risk of having no one to look after the children.

There are very few A.D.C. families in which the father relies upon the services of a housekeeper, and only a few more in which the incapacitated father has assumed responsibility for home care and management. In the absence of wages the grant is inadequate to meet the cost of housekeeping service; and the organized municipal homemaker service, limited to families receiving relief, would prefer to accept families only when the father is too disabled to perform household tasks. These few cases indicate that a father who is alone and incapable of employment wants his home and children and that he is capable of exerting considerable energy to keep them together. His condition makes it easier for him to accept his failure as the breadwinner, and he can find a compensating satisfaction in providing a home good in other respects. He has a status in the home that might be denied to an able-bodied, nonsupporting father. There are, however, problems peculiar to the situation. The children feel an obligation to assist in the support of the family before they are ready for the responsibility, and too much is sometimes expected of the girls in the performance of heavy household tasks. The father's need for companionship is often an emotional burden to the children, and his condition may be a heavy responsibility to him and to them. Few fathers feel adequate to the guidance of their adolescent daughters—and adolescent

boys sometimes prefer a more vigorous man. The physically disabled father may know his children only within the confines of the home, because he is unable to make necessary community contacts in their behalf.

In some instances it seems wholly desirable to trust to the father in this situation, but in general the care of the home and children is too much for him to carry alone. He may not be well, he may tire easily, and worry may be bad for him. He is deeply concerned about himself, and he is emotionally incapable of accepting too much or too many of the children's problems. He cannot give attention both to the home and to the children, and he should have the services of a housekeeper to relieve him of some of his household responsibilities and to restore a more normal environment for the children.

THE FATHER AT HOME BECAUSE OF HIS INCAPACITY TO SUPPORT THE FAMILY

The only A.D.C. home in which both parents are present is the home that includes an incapacitated father or mother, although here, too, there is a departure from a normal family pattern. In some instances the mother is the incapacitated person, but usually it is the father's incapacity to support the family that brings it to the attention of the agency. Administratively, the essential factor to be considered is "the relationship of the parent's incapacity to his ability to accept employment and thereby support the child."⁸

The interpretation of the term "incapacity" is sufficiently comprehensive to bring the resources of the program to the service of children in need. Incapacity may be total or partial, permanent

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

or temporary, if not less than six months' duration from the time of application. If it is for a lesser period, the family is referred to the Chicago Welfare Administration,⁹ despite the fact that a general relief program should not be required to provide for the needs of a sick or handicapped person.

The father is considered totally incapacitated when, because of his physical or mental condition, he "is unable to carry on any part of his usual occupation or any other occupation at which he might be able to earn a living for himself and his family"¹⁰—a definition that binds total incapacity to total unemployability. He is considered partially incapacitated when he cannot work full time or when he is in full-time employment but, because of his condition, cannot earn enough to support his family. On the other hand, if the father has a vocation or profession in which he could continue despite his condition if a job were available, he is considered an unemployed man.¹¹

An examination by a physician is essential as evidence of incapacity,¹² and the Cook County Medical Advisory Committee designates the doctor to examine and to report upon the condition of the incapacitated person who is not receiving medical care or who is attended by a private physician. These reports are reviewed by the committee as a whole, as are the reports of any recognized clinic or hospital that may have applicants under its medical care. In order that the committee may make an informed recommendation, supplementary interpretative material, including

social, psychological, and employment histories, is made available to it. The recommendations, as a rule, presume that, even when the person is described as a totally and permanently incapacitated person, he has some capacity to work; the committee apparently is reluctant to say that there is absolutely nothing that a person can do.

When the parent is permanently incapacitated, the medical recommendation usually waives re-examination. When he is temporarily disabled, a specific time for re-examination is set, and the County Medical Department then shares with the case worker the responsibility for helping the parent to keep the appointment. The case worker is further expected to note any change in the client's condition and when indicated to request the advice of the Medical Committee.¹³

The responsibility for determining eligibility rests with the Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, and it makes the final decision in every case.¹⁴ This decision presumably is based upon a review of the medical statement considered in conjunction with all the social and occupational factors which the investigation has revealed, but there is a strong tendency to rely upon the doctor's diagnosis and recommendations. It is general practice to request the physician's statement of the client's employability as a part of the report on incapacity and to make this the basis for the social decision. The practice is not fair to the doctor, who often is not informed and who is without special interest with reference to vocational possibilities.

It is not easy to correlate an individual's mental or physical condition with his ability to work, and the policies are

⁹ The Chicago Welfare Administration, formerly the Chicago Relief Administration, is the general relief agency of Chicago.

¹⁰ *Manual*, Sec. IV, chap. 5, p. 6a.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10b.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

designed to protect him against a premature or hasty decision concerning his condition. Certain criteria have been established to guide both case worker and doctor. These ask if the individual is able to engage in his usual occupation, to work full time, to earn a living wage. They also seek to determine if he has the requisite education, training, or capacity to learn to perform other work or with some chance of success to undertake a program of retraining. The *Manual* offers the following examples to guide the worker:

A parent who has been employed as a grinder becomes ill with silicosis. The physician who examines him reports that he can do clerical or other completely sedentary work. The parent has a third-grade education and has never done clerical work. Until he can be taught a sedentary trade, the Division will recognize him as incapacitated.

Or a parent is examined by a physician who makes a diagnosis of arthritis deformans, a chronic crippling disease, and states that the patient is so incapacitated that even his hands are useless. However this man has always earned his living as a writer. He dictates to his wife, he is in no pain, and his mentality is not affected by this illness, which is of long standing. There seems no reason, therefore, why he cannot continue to support his family as long as there is a market for his writings.¹⁵

A particularly difficult problem arises in relation to the man who is physically capable of work but who is emotionally incapable of holding a job. This is the old so-called "work-shy" group, and there are a number of them known to the A.D.C. program. They are likely to receive scant sympathy from the medical profession, and the worker seldom disputes the medical recommendation, though it may not be to the best interest of the man or his family.

When the disability has been corrected or a period of training has been completed, the individual is "employable," and he is now responsible for securing employment or has eventually to

be transferred to another agency. The grant can continue for a period of three months, however, during which the father can be encouraged to find a job and the family helped to adjust to the new situation.

A problem born of the times is the employment of the individual who has been certified medically unfit to work. The employer may hire him because of the general scarcity of manpower, but he does not welcome the responsibility of a handicapped employee, and some industrial insurance companies will not insure him. Because he is usually eager to work, he accepts what he can get, and the job may be far from suitable. The mounting evidence of the industrial usefulness of the incapacitated may serve to stimulate postwar interest in his rehabilitation, though it is probable that the civilian whose incapacity is not service-connected will be among the first to be laid off and the last to be retrained and re-employed.

The presence of the mentally or physically incapacitated parent in the home is no barrier to eligibility. The only question is whether his presence interferes with the safety and security of the children. Agency policy tries to preserve for him the status that he formerly enjoyed and to maintain normal family relationships in so far as possible. In order to prevent the feeling of uselessness so common to the incapacitated person, the father, whenever he is able to act as head of the family in planning for its welfare, is encouraged to file the application and to become the grantee relative. He retains the status of provider, and the children are encouraged to look upon him as the source of their support.¹⁶ Many records fail to reveal, however,

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, chap. 6, "Relative Relationships in Establishing Eligibility for Aid to Dependent Children," p. 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

how he feels about his situation or what the attitude of the family is toward him. The important goal in treatment is his restoration to employability, if this is possible through medical care or by means of vocational retraining; but seldom is information available about the duration of his handicap, his previous employment history, his education, or what he has in mind for the future. Nor is the effect of the situation upon the mother and children often recorded.

It is evident that the A.D.C. program has been less than realistic in its approach to the problem of the incapacitated parent. Its purpose is to protect the children in the home of a parent who cannot support them, but in Illinois, A.D.C. is neither prepared nor able out of its own funds to support the wage-earner during the period of invalidity, so that he must be aided through supplementation from general relief. It acknowledges a responsibility to restore the incapacitated person to economic competence, in so far as possible, by mobilizing in his behalf available medical and vocational training facilities; but existing services are woefully inadequate for this task, and the program has no funds to develop or to improve them. General medical care available today does not begin to meet the special needs of this group and makes no pretense of doing so. In fact, the incapacitated man may have difficulty in obtaining medical care at all unless he is eligible for such care under the general relief program. A program of vocational training and job placement would have to be co-ordinated with the medical program to assure the individual the kind of employment that would enable him to function to the best of his limited capacity. An invalidity program would offer some financial protection to the wage-earner but none to the other members of his family. What

is needed is an assistance program for the incapacitated as a separate category. The emphasis might then be upon the needs of the ill or handicapped person with some likelihood that funds for special medical care and vocational training might be forthcoming.

THE STEPFATHER AND HIS RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE STEPCHILDREN

The role of the stepfather¹⁷ is hard to define. The administration regards him as a possible source of support for the child, and the case worker sees him as a substitute for the father. Legally, he is not liable for the support of the child of his wife's earlier marriage unless he has adopted it; the administrative point of view seems to be that if he enjoys the satisfaction of family life, he should be held responsible for meeting the ordinary obligations of a head of a family in which there are dependent children.

If the stepfather has maintained a home for the family and there has been no change in his circumstances or in his ability to give support, the children are ineligible for assistance. The fact that he had established a home for them and that he remains able to do so places upon him a certain liability for their continued support. On the other hand, if he fails to support them because he has become unable to do so or because he refuses to do so, the children are eligible for assistance.

The stepfather cannot be compelled to support his stepchild. An attempt to induce a reluctant stepfather to provide maintenance is not pushed too far, lest it defeat its own purpose and jeopardize the relationship between the stepfather, the mother, and the child. The present policy is quite sound in its insistence that a child's security should not be

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. V, "Determination of Need," chap. 1, "General," p. 7.

threatened by emphasizing the fact that he is a stepchild.

When the father is able but unwilling to support the children, family relationships are on an unsound basis, and many other problems are undoubtedly present. The stepfather may assume a father's authority at the same time that he refuses a father's responsibility, and he may resent the case worker's interest in the children. The mother bears the brunt of his displeasure. The emotional implications of the father's attitude toward the children argues against the future happiness of the family group.

The mother who is contemplating a second marriage usually has given thought to the child's place in the home and has made some arrangement for his care by the stepfather. Generally the stepfather is willing to support his wife and her children if he is financially able to do so. While it is true that a child's natural father is primarily responsible for his support, nevertheless, if the mother is divorced, the child's own father is likely to be a distant figure who has been out of the home for some time. If the mother and the children are known to A.D.C. and the mother later marries a man who is unwilling or unable to support the children, the marriage does not bar the grant. The fact that the A.D.C. grant may continue has proved a considerable factor in the marriage or in the success of the marriage in quite a few cases.

THE MOTHER AND THE CHILD IN THE FATHERLESS HOME

The A.D.C. program is planned for the benefit of children who can live in good home surroundings despite changes in family relationships which contribute to lack of support or care. A home can provide complete protection and hap-

piness to children only when both the father and the mother are united in a close, secure relationship and when they are able to understand their children and to give intelligent direction to their growth. Many of these values can be maintained in a home where there is only one parent.¹⁸

Most of the children known to A.D.C. are in homes broken by the absence of the father. In a sound case-work program the father's absence would be enough in itself to establish the eligibility of a needy child. But it is now necessary to define it "in terms of causes, such as desertion, divorce or legal separation without adequate provision for children, or imprisonment, etc." Occasionally, it has not been possible to determine the nature of the absence; but when the continued absence is proved through records (for example, by means of the case record of a public relief agency), the application may be accepted and A.D.C. funds granted pending the verification of the actual type of absence.

*The divorced wife and children.*¹⁹—The child whose father is dead is eligible for aid as soon as the death is verified, but the deserted child and the child of divorced or separated parents has a more difficult time. The termination of the marital tie by divorce ends any possibility of a re-established home. Too often the absent father is not a person of interest except as a source of support, and the divorce is seldom regarded as the culmination of an unhappy marital experience that has left a mark upon each member of the family. If the father has not been ordered to support the family or if he is failing to comply with a court order, the grant may be authorized immediately. The court order is taken into account, however, and the mother is

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, chap. 5, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4a.

asked to request the interest of the court in the father's responsibility to his children. Discretion may be exercised as to whether assistance will be granted while the mother is attempting to have the order carried out.

*The separated family.*²⁰—When the parents are "living apart by mutual agreement," the mother must either bring suit for separate maintenance or petition for support before the child is considered eligible. The employment of the father or his ability to support is immaterial. The action is sought as a test of the true situation, and the mother's willingness to comply with the requirements supposedly reveals whether or not she and her husband have separated for the sake of the grant. There is no waiting period after the initiation of court procedure, and, as in divorce, the court order determines the maximum contribution that is expected from the father, although the amount he actually gives is budgeted as income.

*The deserted family.*²¹—The deserting parent is considered to have "wilfully abandoned the responsibilities of home and parenthood"—a concept of desertion that is harsh and legalistic. The home in which desertion or separation has occurred offers the possibility of later reconstruction, and the problems of the family should receive consideration at the earliest possible moment. Instead, a period of six months after the desertion must have elapsed before the application can be accepted. If the father has been away for a shorter period, the family is referred for support to the Chicago Welfare Administration or, if indicated, to a private agency. A wait of half a year may mean that neither the parent who is out of the home nor the

family retains an interest in reconciliation.

Treatment, to be effective, should include the absent parent, but he is out of the home, and it is easy to forget him. His whereabouts may be known to the family or to others, but this in itself is no barrier to eligibility. However, the fact of desertion must be verified, preferably by the records of other agencies or by relatives or by those close to the family—but the confidence of the family is always to be protected. The worker presumably will discuss the situation with the deserter, although attempts to communicate with him are sometimes half-hearted, particularly when he is known to have been an inadequate parent or where he has a poor record of family support. Whether or not he should return to the home is usually left to the family to decide, although the agency will offer its services in effecting a reconciliation if the family so desires. The causes of desertion need not be taken into account in determining eligibility, though they are recognized as an important part of the social study. The *Manual* cautions the worker "to wait until a good working relationship has been established before making any attempt to discuss matters of an intimate nature as a basis for developing plans for the family's future."²²

One objective that is emphasized is that of securing the co-operation of the father in planning for the support of the family and contributing toward it. If the father is able to contribute but refuses voluntarily to participate in the support of his family, the mother is expected to take coercive action against him.²³ Legal compulsion is recognized as a drastic step and is used only as a last resort. The man's whereabouts must be known, his

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4a-5.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5a.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

ability to support must be established, and his refusal to support must be confirmed before the aid of the court is sought. The wife's attitude must also be given full consideration. If she is in doubt about the value or advisability of requesting the interest of the court, the procedure of the agency is sufficiently flexible to permit individualized treatment. It is the policy, however, that the mother must take court action if all the other means fail. The value of the father's contribution is difficult to determine from a social point of view. It is generally small in amount and requires the continued interest of the court if it is to be steady and regularly given. It is not a dependable source of income; it is not adequate to the maintenance of the family which remains in need of assistance; and it seldom yields much to the happiness or well-being of either the donor or the recipient.

Although legal compulsion is of little benefit economically or socially to the family, in some instances it has been necessary to rely upon the services of the Court of Domestic Relations to establish contact with the absent father in order to obtain necessary information or to protect the family. An appeal to the court has another significance that has become established in practice, though it does not appear in the formulated policies of the agency. If the deserted mother has sought the services of the court, the requirement that the desertion must have existed for six months is waived.

The father's desertion may follow upon a long period of domestic friction and misunderstanding. The agency is not in a position to prevent the initial family disruption, but it has a liberal point of view toward some aspects of family maladjustment. Although the father is

usually the deserter, the mother may take the children and leave the home if the situation there has become unbearable to her. The absence of one parent because of violent disagreement or because of the conduct of the other parent is regarded as a desertion resulting from incompatibility, and is a recognized cause of dependency.

The parent who has left the home will come back if he is at all interested in his family, though he may leave again after a short period. In case of reapplication, the family is not required to wait six months after the second desertion. This was a requirement at first, but it was not a satisfactory policy if for no better reason than that it would "have the bad effect of discouraging mothers from reporting the return of husbands or the return of fathers with whom a possible reconciliation is doubtful."

The policy has, therefore, been changed. Reapplication "may be accepted and acted upon without reference to the length of time the parent has been absent. Eligibility is ordinarily established at the time of application. The subsequent return of a parent for a short period, during which time a reconciliation is not established, does not affect the original eligibility."

It has already been stated that the obligation of the program is to assure to the child a home that offers a maximum of love, understanding, and guidance. In many cases the absent father is not seen, and in some cases attempts have been made at reconciliation, but the agency is usually interested primarily in the father's ability to assume support. Little attention is given to the father and the family problems as he sees them. When the father is in a position to support, the economic factor may obscure the real obligation of the agency. If he

says that he wishes to be at home and that he is willing and able to support the family and if there seems to be no information to prove that he will not keep his word, the grant may be canceled, although the mother does not wish to have him with her—a step that can only increase the underlying domestic friction. When the absent member returns home and is accepted, the family will undergo a period of readjustment, and the continuation of assistance may be instrumental in overcoming some of the initial strains. The grant can be continued over a period of three months to help the family achieve a new stability. If there is not to be a recurrence of desertion, the economic aid must be accompanied by case-work skill in giving an understanding service. In determining eligibility and in administering the grant, the worker represents the agency in an authoritative role; she should leave authority behind when working with the family toward a stable and more companionable life. This is a difficult role, and only an able and experienced worker can carry it successfully.

Not all absences are desertion. For example, the absence of a father from the home because he is in the armed forces of the United States, if such absence results in a lack of support or insufficient support, is recognized as a cause of dependency regardless of the length of time he has been away.²⁴ The same is true of imprisonment, provided that the period of imprisonment is to continue for six months after the date of application.²⁵ If the incarceration is for a lesser period, the family may be referred for support to the general relief agency.

The unmarried mother and the child born out of wedlock.—The unmarried

mother and her illegitimate child bring with them some of the most difficult and distressing situations with which the A.D.C. worker has to deal. The problems of care and protection are old, but mother and child constitute a family new to administrative interest. Either parent who has the child in the absence of the other may apply for aid, but it is the mother and the child who are the true concern of the agency. Her status as an unmarried mother, when the absence of the father results in lack of support or care for the child, is a recognized cause of dependency.²⁶

Perhaps more than any other unmarried mother, it is the young Negro woman or girl for whom resources are most limited and who is most in need of sound case work. She is usually young, with a formal education that did not go much beyond the first year of high school, if that far. The home from which she has come may have offered her few social or cultural advantages, and she has known a deprived childhood that has not predisposed her toward responsible and socially acceptable behavior. The boys and young men with whom she associates have been similarly underprivileged, and they are unwilling or reluctant to accept a family responsibility that often has proved too heavy for their parents. She has neither desired nor anticipated pregnancy, but she regards the child as hers and she is prepared to give him love and care to the limit of her capacity. It is difficult to plan with her, for her life may be repeating the pattern of the parental home and she knows no other. She sees no future for herself, and she is dependent upon the father of the child or the father of the next child for companionship and recreation.

Another group particularly in need

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6a.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

of case work is that of the very young unmarried mothers, fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen, usually still in the parental home. They may have been children receiving A.D.C. grants, and the agency knows them throughout the period of pregnancy. The girl remains at home, ordinarily unemployed although sometimes seeking work, and willingly yielding to the older women in the family the responsibility for the care of the baby. These unmarried mothers are young, and they are immature, but they are seldom urged to return to school, and the school generally would not welcome them back. Little is offered in vocational guidance to prepare them to support themselves or to share in the child's maintenance. The father of the baby is often as young as the mother, as unprepared for responsibility and as confused by it. These young people and their families need a special guidance and counseling that they seldom receive.

Another important group, more difficult and less responsive to case work, is the relatively young mother whose children have had different fathers. The married woman who has an illegitimate child is protected to some extent by the marital status. The attitude of the community toward the young mother with one child is becoming less harsh, but the mother of several illegitimate children is subject to sharp censure from the neighborhood.

It is recognized that treatment should begin with the initial contact, and service to the mother is authorized from the moment of application. However, no grant may be authorized until after the birth of the child. When a pregnant woman applies, the agency assumes responsibility for securing from other community resources the funds and services to meet her need. A dependent il-

legitimate child is immediately eligible for an A.D.C. grant. There is no waiting period, no requirement of legal action, and the presumption of dependency is strong. Possibly the program is more readily available to the unmarried mother and her child than to any other family group except the widow and her children.

The advantages that the home has to offer to the illegitimate child are evaluated, but the grant may be given while the social study is being made in order to relieve the economic tensions that might confuse the social situation. How to work effectively with the mother and to protect her and her child are difficult to determine, and the dearth of community resources only emphasizes the seriousness of the problem. The family may come to the attention of the agency because the mother has recently given birth to her baby or because an older child requires her care. The housing facilities, especially for the Negro mother, are miserable; and often she is living in the home of relatives where she may not feel welcome, or in a furnished room that affords little privacy and is hardly conducive to the enjoyment of home life or to the proper care of children. The number of mutual boarding-homes, separate homes, or boarding-homes, should she wish to place her baby temporarily, is limited. The A.D.C. grant is inadequate to the support of the family and requires supplementation from C.W.A., and the mother may remain emotionally insecure and disturbed for a much longer period than she would if she and the child were comfortable in their living conditions and in their income. Whether the mother should keep her baby or place him, whether she should devote herself to his care or assume some share in his support, are questions that

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she is constantly asking, and she needs the counsel of an experienced worker in deciding what she wants to do and what is best for her and the child.

The child's right to know his father, the part the father should have in the life in the family, and his responsibility for its support are decided by the circumstances in the individual case. It is generally agreed that every child is entitled to the protection and affection of two parents. Sometimes, however, too little effort is made to interest an unmarried father in his family. He and the mother, although both may be free to marry, may continue to have children; but marriage as a solution to the problem may not recommend itself. Whatever the reason, the father has little desire to commit himself to any responsibility for the family, and his attitude seems to be accepted.

When the family income is supplemented by the general relief agency, it is required that the ability of the putative father to support his child shall be decided by court action; but if the father will not make a voluntary contribution, little is gained by coercion. In the absence of a statute no responsibility rests upon the father; but generally under statutes governing the status of the child born out of wedlock an obligation restricted in amount and duration is laid upon him. In Illinois, provided the fact of paternity has been determined within two years after the child's birth, the father may be held until the child is ten years old for an amount not exceeding \$200 for the first year and \$100 annually for the next nine years. The Illinois Bastardy Act, closely allied with the poor law, decides responsibility only for the support of the child. The proceedings are quasi-criminal. If the case is contested, an effort is made to impugn the mother's character,

and the proceedings may become so distasteful that she will refuse to go through with them. The amount of the father's contribution seldom justifies the experience to which the mother has been subjected.

Administratively, the child's eligibility for an A.D.C. grant depends upon the father's absence from the home, unless he is incapacitated. The fact that the unmarried, physically incapable father may be living in the home is not accepted as evidence that the home is unsuitable, and his inability to support the children establishes their eligibility. In line with this decision the responsibility of the able-bodied unmarried father living in the home is considered as the responsibility of the married father for the support of the children. The general relief agency will accept the unmarried family to support if there are children and if the relationship is stable and permanent.

Aid to dependent illegitimate children sometimes has community repercussions. The use of public funds to maintain homes that do not conform to community standards causes some sharp criticism of the program, especially if the number of illegitimate children in the household increases. The case-work point of view is, first, that the children should not be penalized because of the mother's conduct; and, second, that denial of assistance to the mother does not meet the problem in any way and may augment it; and, third, that if the home offers the child the security of love and interest, the poor social training he may receive should not be overemphasized. If the situation is one of neglect or extreme social incompetence, the care of the children becomes properly the concern of the juvenile court. However, the agency cannot speak with authority about the relative value to the child of

social or environmental factors in the home until much more is known about them than is known today.

The number of unmarried mothers receiving care and support is increasing, and the obligation of the agency to this group seem to be (1) to establish new resources and to strengthen and extend those already in existence and (2) to develop a case-work service especially skilled in helping the mother and the child to adjust to each other and to the community.

THE CHILD IN THE HOME OF RELATIVES

A special concern is felt for the child who is in the home of near relatives because the parental home is lost to him. The relatives are asked to accept him as one of the family and to be responsible for his welfare.²⁷ The conditions in the home are to be evaluated carefully before the final decision on eligibility is made; and special consideration is to be given to the standards of care and health and to the opportunities for social, educational, and religious development.²⁸ However, if the child is in need, assistance may be given at any time after the application and before the completion of the social investigation, unless the relatives seem incapable of providing adequate care or unless the presence of problems detrimental to the child's proper emotional development is suspected. The emotional satisfactions that the child will derive from the home are considered as important to his happiness as is his physical comfort.

The child usually has been in the home of the applicant relative for some

time, and, in general, the arrangement will continue. In some instances, but not many, the agency has the responsibility for the initial placement. It may have had time to prepare for this eventuality, or the need may have been emergent because the child was suddenly or unexpectedly without the supervision of a responsible adult. In either case, the final decision as to who will receive him rests with the relatives,²⁹ but the responsibility for the decision should be shared with a skilled and experienced worker. However, in practice, expediency and the willingness of the relative are more likely than any other criteria to decide the home to which the child will go. The kind and quality of home life may be only superficially acceptable, but the lack of community resources does not lead to a more penetrative analysis of home conditions. To move a child from the home of one relative to a second home that seems better seldom works well. Unless the relative who has had the child is willing and eager to give him up, interfamily jealousy is likely to be aroused and old resentments and antagonisms to flare up. The child is pulled and hauled between two homes, and he may be as ready to stay in the first home as to live in the one considered better for him.

The principle that has been followed in giving aid to the child with relatives is that his welcome comes first, and, if it is to his best interest, the grant will be allowed even when family finances are adequate to his care. The attitude toward the financially able applicant relative who has been responsible for the child's maintenance and is able but not willing to continue is the same as that held toward the stepfather. If the relative has been able to support the child in the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. IV, "Determination of Eligibility," chap. 6, "Relative Relationships in Establishing Eligibility for A.D.C.," p. 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

past and there has been no change in his circumstances, the child is not "in need." The law does not hold relatives responsible for the support of the child, but it will sustain the decision that the child is not eligible unless need has been established. On the other hand, if the relative has refused to support or if he gives so grudgingly that the child's security is threatened, the child is eligible. Generally a careful and persistent attempt is made to persuade the family to accept financial responsibility. A timely decision that relates to the increased cost of living permits a grant to be given when the child's continued support means a sacrifice to the family that has only a marginal income.

For example, a question of eligibility has been raised for a child who was placed with relatives by a child-placing agency that assumed responsibility for his board. The relatives were in good financial circumstances, and the private agency withdrew from the situation after referring the family to A.D.C. It was decided that, since the relatives had taken the child with the understanding that board would be paid, he would be considered needy, provided the family could not be induced to keep him without pay.

When the relationship has been verified and the home is acceptable, the responsible relative³⁰ becomes the grantee relative for the child.³¹ It is assumed that the grantee will be an adult, but a minor, if he has successfully assumed responsibility for the child, or can do so, may be the grantee.³² If a minor or unmarried

mother living in the home of a relative accepts responsibility for her child, she may receive the grant; if she has never established herself in a home of her own or if she seems incapable of assuming responsibility for the child, the relative may act as grantee for her and for the child.³³ The needs of the grantee relative are included on the assistance plan, though no money is available for them from A.D.C. funds.

The child's own home is considered the best place for him, and the worker is directed to give particular consideration to the mother's attitude and to her ability to give him good care. If she is encouraged to re-establish the home, the County Bureau will assist in the plan. However, because of the limitations of A.D.C. funds, any sum over the amount of the grant will have to be obtained from the general relief agency. General relief (Chicago Welfare Administration) funds for this purpose would be given for homes for younger children, but the present policy of the general relief agency insists that the mothers are to work if the child is over fourteen and is not delinquent.

This large-scale use of the relative's home is new in aid to dependent children, and it is not yet well understood.³⁴ The home of the grandparents more often than any other has welcomed the homeless child. It is a home in which he seems to be at ease, and the relationship between him and the surrogate parent or parents seems most closely to resemble the normal family pattern. He may have been with the grandparents from early infancy; usually his stay with them has

³⁰ Adoptive parents, and half-brothers and sisters are included as responsible relatives. The adoptive grandparents cannot become grantee relatives. Paternal relatives of an illegitimate child other than the natural father are not acceptable, nor are aunts and uncles by marriage.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

³³ This assumes that the mother is under sixteen, or under eighteen if in school.

³⁴ These conclusions are tentative. One district has approximately two hundred cases of children in the homes of relatives, and seventy-five were read.

extended over a period of years. Sometimes he is the only child in the home, but as a rule he shares with others, perhaps his own brothers and sisters.

The problems are those likely to arise in a parental situation, and the differences relate chiefly to the age and physical condition of the grandparents. Few of them are under fifty, and almost none is free from illness or poor health. They are less patient, more irritable, and, despite their love for the children, they may feel that raising one generation has been enough. They lack the physical strength and the mental vigor of parents, and their curiosity about the child's life away from home is not so alert. The child is more taken for granted. As long as he is good at home, his goodness elsewhere follows as a matter of course; if he is misbehaving outside the home, the grandparents often feel that the situation will right itself if let alone. Too, the older grandparents are apprehensive about what may happen to the grandchild in the event of their death. The children seem to have a greater tolerance for the grandparents than children normally show toward parents. The grant is needed, but it is seldom a decisive factor in the child's stay in the home.

The home of an aunt or uncle offers the child less security, though there are many exceptions. The adults are more aware of their acceptance of the child, more likely to estimate it in terms of sacrifice, more frequently call attention to the value of home life and affection. They discuss the child's parents in less charitable terms than the grandparents. There are own children in the home, and rivalry and competition for the affection of the adults are sometimes marked. The child finds the discipline of the home more onerous. The aunt or uncle may resent the child if his behavior brings

them to the attention of the community, feeling that he lacks appreciation of all they are trying to do for him. They will more quickly suggest his removal or accept the suggestion of foster-home placement. Generally, the child has been in this home for a shorter time than the youngster with the grandparents, and he was older when he joined the household. In some contrast to the grandparents who have usually come to the attention of the County Bureau by referral from O.A.A. or C.W.A., the avuncular relatives initiate the first contact. The grant is a decided factor in the child's welcome in the house.

The home maintained by the brother or sister is in the minority. The blood tie is greater, but so, too, are the problems. There are some instances in which the home is a most happy one, but more often the older sister or brother may find it difficult to maintain a status as head of the family and to enforce discipline. Intrafamily coalitions are frequent. If the brother or sister is married, the spouse is in a difficult position unless his authority, too, is accepted. The financial need is greater, and members of an age to work are expected to contribute. When the head of the family is a minor, the responsibility placed on young shoulders is often willingly but unwisely carried. Should the situation become too much for him or if his behavior or the behavior of any member of the group becomes open to question, there is no one in the home able to give him patient understanding and guidance. The grant is a necessary part of the family income.

The reasons that children are with relatives are the ones that might be expected. The death or desertion of both parents has made placement necessary; or one parent, in the absence of the other, has been unable or unwilling to support

and care for the child and so has relinquished him. Other reasons include the unmarried mother's reluctance to face the community with her child, the stepfather's refusal to have the child in his home, or, rarely, the child's preference for the relative's home as against his own home. The whereabouts of the parent are often not definitely known, and the relatives are not eager to revive the unpleasantness that may have preceded the disappearance. If his whereabouts are known and the record of his care of the child was a poor one, the agency, too, may remain out of touch with him, fearing that he will bring with him only trouble.

When he gives up the child, the parent seems to relinquish a feeling of responsibility for him. His visits to the child are infrequent, and his contributions, if any, are irregular and uncertain. His attitude often is inferred from his behavior. The real attitude of the child remains equally unexplored. Very few records offer a clear and understanding knowledge of the child's attitude toward the parent, toward the relative, or toward himself. Occasionally his feeling is revealed, but these instances seem to occur only when the emotion is too intense to remain concealed. Children are pathetically grateful to the absent parent who shows an occasional interest in them. If the parent's behavior indicates a complete indifference, the child may mention that he hates his parents, or he may express a great need to know them or even to see them. Whether an attempt should be made to recreate a home that has remained broken over a long period of time, whether the re-established home will have enough value to justify removing the child from the home of relatives, must be decided on an individual basis. Very few homes have

been re-established, and there is not enough information on which to base any conclusions about them.

There is the possibility that the social study will reveal neither the parent nor the relative to be the best person to care for the child, and the agency then has the responsibility for determining with the relatives the home most suitable for him. There may be no agreement on this point; and, if a satisfactory plan cannot be worked out, the family is asked to request the opinion of the juvenile court. In order to protect such harmonious relationships as may exist in the situation, the child is eligible pending the decision of the court. He loses eligibility only if the family insists upon his placement in the home that the agency has rejected.³⁵

THE CHILD WHO HAS BEEN PLACED BY A RELATIVE

There are very few A.D.C. children who are not living in the homes of those responsible for them, and the question of eligibility of those children is interesting. A child may have been placed in the home of relatives in another county because the mother's employment made it impossible for her to care for him adequately, but he is eligible, provided that she sees him frequently and remains responsible for his guidance. However, if she does not intend to maintain this parental relationship and if it is assumed by the relative, the relative may replace the mother as the responsible grantee.

A child placed in an institution or by an agency in a foster-home under circumstances that make either responsible for his custody is ineligible. However, the child who is in a private boarding school licensed by the State Board of Education or a private boarding-home

³⁵ *Manual*, Sec. IV, chap. 6, p. 6.

which the mother has selected is eligible. That is, when the mother continues to retain the right to have the child with her again at any time and still maintains a home to which the child may return, she remains responsible for his care, and she will continue to receive assistance in his behalf as long as need exists.

These decisions clarify the conditions under which the child is considered under the parent's care, but there is the further requirement that he shall be living in his own home. In deciding this point, a child was considered as still living in his own home after he had been placed by the juvenile court in a foster-home but pending a decision as to the best place for him. It was expected that the court would decide within a period of several months, and the grant was continued to help the mother to maintain the home and to be ready to receive the child in the event of his return.

The influencing factor apparently is the child's place and welcome in his own home. His care was looked upon as a responsibility of other community agencies when his mother remarried and the stepfather refused to have him in the home. The mother placed him with a private family and visited him often and paid his board, but he was not eligible because the mother had established a separate family home from which he was excluded by the stepfather.

There is some question as to how far these concepts of parental care and the open home may go. At present the parent's selection of a home or school may be assisted by a placement agency or the child may become the ward of another agency without losing eligibility. There is nothing to restrict the use of the grant from reimbursing the agency that places the child at the request of the mother. In some rare instances persons not rel-

atives have been accepted as temporary grantees during the period in which a more permanent plan is being worked out.

This comes close to the field of foster-home care, but it lacks the controls of selection and supervision upon which that field can rely. Whether placement can legally be developed as part of the A.D.C. program is open to question.

CONCLUSION

The philosophy of the program is, for the most part, well interpreted in these administrative policies, and the policies encourage a sound case-work practice. Nevertheless, certain questions in relation to the security of the child's home are raised. The right of the child to the companionship of his father is recognized when the father is incapacitated or the mother is absent from the home. However, an able-bodied father who is incapable of assuming the role of wage-earner, though he may be adequate to the care of his children in other respects, must be away from his family if the children are to be eligible for aid. The duty of the father to support his family is given full recognition, and there is also an awareness of the futility of coercive action when he has laid down this responsibility as a burden too heavy to be borne. Very little attention is given to the absent father who has been an indifferent parent and an inadequate provider. The children of an unemployed man are not covered by the A.D.C. program, since the unemployed man and his family should be given help through a work program or some special provision for the unemployed. His children are properly not classified as dependent children.

The mother is encouraged to remain in the home whether she has one minor

child or more than one. However, the policies reflect the old fear of collusion—that she and her husband may have separated in order to obtain assistance for the children or he may have deserted for this purpose. The apprehension is relieved when she seeks the protection of a court of domestic relations, though she is not urged to do so. The mother may work, and the grant may supplement her wages. Community resources for the care of the children during her absence at work are meager and unsatisfactory, and whatever arrangements she can make must be accepted since no better plans can be made.

The inclusion of the unmarried mother and the illegitimate child has created many problems. The policies with regard to extra-marital companionship are unusually liberal, and the case worker is intrusted with the heavy responsibility of determining the value of the home to the child. A skilled case-work staff and specialized treatment resources are needed if the true needs of the mother and the child are to be understood. The development of a constructive program to meet these needs is seriously handicapped by inadequate agency and community resources.

It may be questioned whether the policies in general direct enough at-

tention to the welfare of the children. The child in his own home is likely to receive a consideration second to that shown the adults. When the child is in the home of relatives, his adjustment is more the focus of the case worker's interest. In establishing eligibility the legal provision that the home must be suitable is overlooked, and no standards have been formulated to determine what is and what is not suitable. Questionable homes may be accepted because they seem to give the child a desired minimum of "emotional security." However, it is clearly the intent of the agency to evaluate every home and when necessary to offer a case-work service that will assure to the child a proper environment and care. This again calls for a skilled and experienced staff able to give adequate time and attention to each family. Children may be placed in boarding schools or homes for temporary care, but this is a provision that lacks necessary safeguards.

Perhaps the major question raised by the present policies is whether too little emphasis is placed on the child's welfare, too much on the status of the parents. It is probably true that there is little direct, sensitive, understanding work being done with the children.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES IN RURAL TENNESSEE

ANNE SORY

TENNESSEE's state child welfare program, with federal aid, has gone far toward seeking out problems, awakening public interest in creating resources to meet existing needs, and moving toward a goal of providing for every child his right to love and security in a good home, to education, and to full growth into citizenship without the stress of neglect and want. The goal is not yet reached, and there is still a distance to go; but foundations have been laid.

In Child Welfare Services, as in most other public programs, the county has been the unit of administration, but there has always been the need for state leadership.¹ That is, the state must show each county that its own social problems are worthy of attention and assist the county not only in setting up an effective organization for assuming its obligations but in guiding the progress of the service. Such state supervision lends a better opportunity for equalization of higher standards of administration throughout the entire state. Therefore, "the state should be equipped to give intensive supervision to the local units, should be liberal in its interpretations and should recognize the value of long time educational processes,"² which were not always possible in Tennessee, handicapped as the program has been by inadequate funds, insufficient qualified

personnel, and unnecessary political maneuvering.

Recognizing that children in rural areas need the attention of specially trained workers, of physicians, psychologists, and psychiatrists quite as much as those in urban areas, the Child Welfare Services staff set out to make these services available. The planning has been flexible, allowing for changes in the types of demonstrations and special services as conditions indicated. Emphasis has ever been on conservation of the child's own home, in order that he should not be removed from it "except for urgent and compelling reasons."³

Another point of emphasis has been on the provision of services as soon as the need arises and before prolonged adverse conditions have contributed seriously to a social maladjustment,⁴ with the understanding that "the most important and valuable philanthropic work is not the curative but the preventive."⁵

The staff of the Tennessee Child Welfare Services was ready for its new program of work on April 23, 1937, with a staff consisting of a state supervisor, two consultants, two demonstration-

³ *Proceedings of the White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children* (U.S. Senate Doc. No. 721 [Washington, 1909]), p. 192: "Home life is the highest and finest product of civilization. It is the great molding force of mind and character . . . except in unusual circumstances the home should not be broken up for reasons of poverty, but only for considerations of inefficiency or immorality."

⁴ Katharine F. Lenroot, "Child Welfare 1930-40," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXII (November, 1940), 11.

⁵ Homer Folks, "Four Milestones of Progress," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXII (November, 1940), 12.

¹ Mary Ruth Colby, *The County as an Administrative Unit for Social Work* (U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 224 [Washington, 1933]), p. 47.

² Mildred Arnold, "The Growth of Child Welfare Services in Rural Areas," *The Child*, II (July, 1937), 5.

unit supervisors, a supervisor, and four case workers on a special project. The first three months were largely taken up with staff selection, defining relationships, initiating the two county demonstration units, and establishing the Tennessee Industrial School project. The last-named project was important in Child Welfare Services because Tennessee was entrenched in a traditional institutional program and it was believed that such a study of the institution as the one proposed would give a more factual understanding of the needs of children over the state, as well as an appreciation of the adequacy or inadequacy of existing methods of care. Services at the institution led back into the counties and, as a main contribution, showed clearly that a great deal of educational work was needed throughout the state with county officials and with local workers, then mostly lay persons as well as volunteers, before there could be any general acceptance of different methods of care. Although prematurely terminated, the major objectives of the project were accomplished, and an analysis of the findings led to the regional development.

During the first six months of operation and before the regional move was made, the consultants handled cases directly, supervised the county workers with cases involving children, and served to protect the county offices from being flooded with requests for service that would have overwhelmed the untrained, inexperienced local workers. This was also a period of organizing, planning, and conducting institutes for the whole public welfare staff.

After the addition of a third consultant and a special child welfare worker, the state was divided into three sections, and groups of regions were as-

signed to each consultant. All child welfare cases under care were then transferred to the county workers under the supervision of consultants or to the special child welfare worker. Even though relationships among members of the staff were informal and workers were given much responsibility for duties assigned them, standards of professional performance were high.

In the early part of the program, special services to children were thought of as something separate and apart, of which the county workers lacked a knowledge or for which they felt no responsibility. They were eager to unload baffling children's problems on the child welfare consultant and seemed frustrated when these cases were later transferred back to them for carrying out plans under supervision of the consultants. The increasing demands for intensive supervision and interpretation resulted in the assignment of four regional child welfare workers to geographical areas, not only to perform necessary services to children, but to give momentum to county support of a child welfare program where the foundation was not yet laid for full-time demonstration work.

The staff of Child Welfare Services was feeling out through such devices as the project at the Tennessee Industrial School, the almshouse study, and consultant services where roots might best be put down.

REGIONAL SERVICES

The original plan called for nine demonstration units to be designated later, but, in September, 1937, a change was made to limit this number to the two established in June, 1937, substituting regional demonstration areas. This resulted in extensive state-wide organization rather than intensive localized or-

ganization, as first planned. The thinking back of this plan was that it was better not to stimulate a demand for services until the personnel was available and better not to fill a Child Welfare Services position unless it could be filled by a person equipped to do the job well.

The regional child welfare workers were given responsibility for handling cases directly in their areas, which varied in size from three to thirteen counties, although most of the regions covered eight or nine counties. Starting with four workers, this demonstration of services on a regional level ultimately extended to all but one of the ten regions.⁶ The child welfare worker became a staff member of each county she was serving at the time but remained technically responsible to the consultant. It was obvious in this type of demonstration that neither long-distance case work nor long-distance community organization could be as effective as that done locally, and it was intended that the operation of Child Welfare Services on a regional level be considered only a transitional stage in the development of full-time county welfare programs.⁷ Not only was the regional plan always regarded as a temporary phase of the program, but the whole purpose of the regional demonstration was educational. In this way, better than any other at the time, modern methods of child care

could be introduced into more communities in order to stimulate an increase in local funds to go along with state and federal funds to expand the program.

It was the policy to clear each case with the county judges, who had legal responsibility under the juvenile court act for determining policies regarding the disposition of dependent, neglected, and delinquent children.⁸ In this manner child welfare workers often secured the judges' participation and approval of plans. This paved the way for the referral of many cases that otherwise would have been indiscriminately committed to institutions. Some of the problems immediately brought to the attention of the workers related to finances, health, neglect, bad home conditions, need for foster-home care, mental defects, stealing, sex delinquency, truancy, illegitimacy, and desertion.

It was in this introductory period that a state-wide study was made of the children in almshouses.⁹ The state of Tennessee had been shockingly slow about any effective plan for removing children from the almshouses. It seemed important, therefore, that the new Child Welfare Services organization should move at once on a study of the children still remaining in these institutions. County workers made brief studies and referred cases to the child welfare workers, who completed the study for purposes of determining the type of care needed by each of the children living in one of the almshouses at the time. The service on these cases was continuous and extended

⁶ Child welfare workers were serving in seven regions (Regions I, II, III, V, VII, VIII, IX) by the end of the first year, and during 1938-39 additional workers were assigned to Regions IV and VI. Region X was not included because there were only three counties in this area and the largest county was urban with several agencies giving service to children. By 1941, plans for this region were approved but not put into operation because of lack of personnel.

⁷ Mary Irene Atkinson, "Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXII (November, 1940), 213.

⁸ The child welfare services law and the juvenile court law are overlapping in that they give the Tennessee child welfare worker and the county judge the same responsibility regarding child welfare functions.

⁹ William E. Cole, "Almshouse Policies and Almshouse Care of the Indigent in Tennessee," *University of Tennessee Record*, XIV (July, 1938), 1-76.

to other children committed after the date of the study. The removal of all children was not immediately possible, as many cases required time for the completion of plans, owing to the presence of physical conditions that were in need of correction, mental conditions for which there were no available resources, a shortage of housing in rural communities, the necessity of working with illiterate parents, and the lack of financial resources for board. It was possible, however, to remove 166 children within a year. One hundred of these were returned to their parents or relatives after financial assistance was arranged through aid to dependent children; twenty-eight were placed in foster-homes; and for thirty-eight others disposition was made according to the child's needs. Medical treatment was secured through local health units, crippled children's services, or private physicians. Many of the children attended school for the first time, and others who were mentally defective were placed in the Tennessee Home and Training School for the Feeble-minded.¹⁰

Following this effort toward removing children from the almshouses, the general assembly of 1939 took a progressive step in enacting a law requiring that the Department of Public Welfare be notified immediately of the commitment of any child under the age of sixteen years to a county almshouse or similar institution.¹¹ Whatever good purpose this may have served, it would have been far better had referral for study and a plan been required before, rather than after, commitment.

The child welfare program continued

largely on a regional basis until the fiscal year 1940-41, when emphasis was placed upon improving the quality of service rendered through the assignment of smaller areas and through resuming regular, continuous supervision as a means of stimulating and enriching the content of services to children throughout the state. It was believed that the regional plan of organization had served its original purpose and should be discontinued as a state-wide pattern, reducing the areas to be served by child welfare workers to the size of one county or, in some instances, to groups of two or three counties. During the two and one-half years of operation on the regional level, public interest in the care of children increased local acceptance of the services of trained workers and resulted in local financial participation in building up resources to meet individual needs rather than attempting to fit a child into existing resources.

Although this change in administrative organization made necessary the closing-out of some cases or transferring them to the local unit workers, it was nevertheless believed that by this change the program would move further toward an objective of differentiated services to children on the local level. On the negative side, some lag in community interest was to be expected as a result of the withdrawal of special services. Some of the considerations that entered into the selection of the counties in which services were to be continued, as the activities of the regional child welfare workers were concentrated in smaller areas, were:

1. The distribution of cases for which responsibility had already been assumed
2. The investment previously made in terms of local interpretation as to needs and the beginning that had been made in community organization

¹⁰ Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1938-39, pp. 75-76.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77; *Public Acts of Tennessee*, 1939, c. 110, sec. 1.

3. The availability of resources with which to work. For example, several counties were selected because of the paucity of resources and the need for development of others
4. The responsibility of the Department of Public Welfare for continuing services where local funds were already appropriated
5. The geographical location and contiguity of counties, as reducing travel was an important consideration in the practicability of a plan for combining counties

Thus, in extending local Child Welfare Services, plans were made by 1940-41 for six different types of demonstrations:

1. Area of special need, or services in an urban community (County D)
2. Two full-time county units (A and B), and concentration of the activities of the regional child welfare worker in Region VI in one county (C)
3. Concentration of services of the child welfare worker in Region I in two counties (Sullivan and Johnson), and the establishment of a two-county unit in the rural counties in Region X (Fayette and Tipton) for the first time¹²
4. Limitation of the activities of the child welfare worker to three-county units in Region II (Anderson, Morgan, Roane); Region IV (DeKalb, Putnam, Warren); Region V (Coffee, Grundy, Lincoln); Region VII (Giles, Hickman, Marshall); Region IX (Benton, Carroll, Weakley)
5. Supervision by a child welfare worker of county workers on a selected number of children's cases in Region III (Hamilton and adjacent counties), replacing the direct service previously offered by a regional worker¹³
6. Continuation of Region VIII (Madison and surrounding counties) on the regional plan of direct service

By the end of June, 1942, there were twelve child welfare workers assigned

¹² Plans for placing a child welfare worker in the two-county unit (Fayette and Tipton) in Region X had to be postponed owing to personnel shortage (see Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report, 1941-42*, p. 66).

¹³ This plan was never put into operation.

to give case-work services to children in areas covering twenty-eight of the ninety-five counties in the state, and over 75 per cent of their work was concerned with the supervision of children in their own homes.

To give complete descriptions of all the areas—their differences in topography, in local interest and in ability to participate, in the nature of cases referred, and numerous other factors that entered into the effectiveness of the services—would make this study too extensive. It can be noted, however, that all areas, with the exception of County D, were predominantly rural and agricultural, with varying percentages of Negro population and almost negligible proportions of those of foreign birth. In common they had experienced few of the advantages of professional case work and, in many instances, were unaware not that the need existed but that something could be done of a more constructive nature. In some areas the Department of Public Welfare was the only social agency, and there was either no system of general relief available or dependence on the pauper fund.

GENERAL CHILDREN'S SERVICES

There was a noticeable reduction in the number of children's cases under care when the original plan of organization for Child Welfare Services was discontinued. A change in statistical reporting also accounted for some of the difference. In the past all case-work service to children not in families receiving public assistance had been classified under Child Welfare Services, regardless of whether the service had been given by a child welfare worker or a county staff member of the Department of Public Welfare under special supervision by a consultant. In February,

1941-42 only a child welfare case operated by Child Welfare Services now there being of the Child Welfare Child

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1941, this procedure was changed so that only those cases under the direct care of a child welfare worker were reported statistically as Child Welfare Services cases.¹⁴ This system has continued in operation. The cases formerly known as Child Welfare Services cases that are now carried by local unit workers where there is no child welfare worker are still being given service, but the registration of the case is under the heading, General Children's Services. Comparable to Child Welfare Services, this section of the Child Welfare Division includes:

1. Assistance to county judges in developing better care within the child's own family or in a substitute home
2. Utilization of all available medical resources
3. Protection of children who are exploited or abused
4. Interpreting to parents and foster-parents the modern methods of child care and training
5. Making social studies leading to the placement of children under any of the forms of foster care¹⁵

For sixteen children under General Children's Services, during 1941-42, board in a foster-family home has been paid from the state boarding and special-needs fund, as a demonstration to the communities of the benefits of this kind of care, since there were no local resources available for meeting the necessary expenses. It was planned that special supervision of the local workers on the handling of General Children's Services cases would be provided by the supervisor of Child Welfare Services

and the field supervisors, but this did not materialize.

Since statistics were not available for showing the total number of children under care, some concept of the extent of service may be gained through Table 1, presenting figures on the number of children under care at the end of each fiscal year during this study period, 1937-42.

TABLE 1*

CHILDREN UNDER CARE OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES AND GENERAL CHILDREN'S SERVICES IN TENNESSEE AT THE CLOSE OF EACH FISCAL YEAR, 1937-42

| YEAR ENDING JUNE 30 | NUMBER OF CHILDREN | |
|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| | Child Welfare Services | General Children's Services† |
| 1938..... | 1,555 | |
| 1939..... | 2,507 | |
| 1940..... | 2,525 | |
| 1941..... | 786 | 502 |
| 1942..... | 740 | 381 |

* Data taken from "Child Welfare Services Plans" (1937-42); Department of Public Welfare, *Third Annual Report, 1940-41*; *Fourth Annual Report, 1941-42*.

† This service was not introduced until February, 1941.

By June, 1938, the program had been under way only one year and had not then reached into every part of the state. Between 1938 and 1940, when the largest number of children were under care, there was also the largest child welfare staff, numbering nineteen or twenty, serving all except one region. The influence of administrative and statistical changes can be readily noted in the reduction of Child Welfare Services figures for June, 1941, and June, 1942, bearing in mind that the majority of the 883 under General Children's Services during that time had formerly been carried by the regional child welfare workers. Important also was the serious person-

¹⁴ E.g., in June, 1940, there were 2,525 children registered as under care of Child Welfare Services in 93 counties; and in June, 1941, following this administrative and statistical change, there were only 786 children registered in 37 counties (see Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report, 1940-41*, p. 76).

¹⁵ Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report, 1941-42*, pp. 67-68.

nel shortage. The director of the Child Welfare Division was absent during most of 1939 and resigned in November of that year, after which there was no director appointed, and the commissioner acted in that capacity. The supervisor of Child Welfare Services was on educational leave from March to November, 1941; and for field supervision there was only one person for eight months, and two persons for four months, to cover the entire state. One single county demonstration unit was without a worker

TABLE 2*

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN
UNDER CARE OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES IN TENNESSEE,
JUNE 30, 1942

| Age | Number of Children |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| Total | 740 |
| Under 1 year | 16 |
| 1 year, under 3 | 47 |
| 3 years, under 6 | 69 |
| 6 years, under 9 | 109 |
| 9 years, under 12 | 139 |
| 12 years, under 16 | 226 |
| 16 years, under 18 | 86 |
| 18 years and over | 48 |

* Data taken from Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report, 1941-42*, p. 60.

for eight months during 1941-42; a three-county unit was without a worker for nine months, and Region VIII, the largest unit in the state, had no worker for seven months. The vacancies were filled by the field supervisors as far as possible in meeting emergencies in the case loads, but service on other cases was necessarily postponed, and community interest in referrals as well as finances slowed considerably.¹⁶

Greatly influencing the situation at this time was a reversal of the policies established during the first two years of administration, when much pride was

¹⁶ Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report, 1939-40*, p. 60; *Annual Report, 1941-42*, pp. 65-66.

taken in the fact that all services to children were co-ordinated and given first consideration. With the change in 1939 came emphasis on old age assistance and surplus commodities, besides the above-mentioned discontinuance of efforts toward staff development and the draining-off of child welfare personnel into the public assistance positions. Not only was there no way of building up the staff to meet personnel qualifications, but the drastic changes imposed also caused a number of people to leave the program; it was impossible to interest others for the same reasons.

To bring some relief to the personnel situation, to provide trained people to fill the vacancies, and to continue to expand the program, the educational-leave policy was resumed, and \$4,752 from federal Child Welfare Services funds was provided in 1941-42 in educational grants for six months' professional study. Considerations for assigning the grants were that the workers have two years of employment in the Department of Public Welfare with a satisfactory record, show an aptitude for work with children, and be available for placement anywhere in the state. Eight of these scholarships were granted in March, 1942.

An examination of intake during the closing fiscal year of this study, July, 1941-July, 1942, showed the source of the largest number of cases referred to be the county offices of the Department of Public Welfare. The second largest number of referrals came from parents, followed by requests from other agencies, schools, and county and city officials.¹⁷

Of the 740 children under care of Child Welfare Services as of June 30, 1942, shown in Table 1 and also in Table 2, the age distribution was interesting.

¹⁷ *Annual Report, 1941-42*, pp. 58-59.

The preponderance of children under care is in the age groups six through sixteen years, with the largest number of children in the age group between twelve and sixteen years. The smallest number of children receiving care by Child Welfare Services were those under one year. Since many children of school age are, by their own activities, brought to the attention of the public—particularly to school officials—who refer them to the child welfare worker, this may in part account for the apparent emphasis on services to the school-age group. It is also recognized that the adolescent years and pre-adolescent years are the most difficult—the periods at which children come to conflict with their parents, with their teachers, and with those representing authority.

FULL-TIME COUNTY DEMONSTRATION UNITS

Even with the change from regional operation to units of combined counties, it was recognized that this was still too large an area for the best results to be obtained. Continuous efforts were made to promote the plan of full-time child welfare workers in each county, yet the policy of superimposing service from a centralized state administration, cutting off all community interest and organization, and various local conditions—among which were inadequate funds, official indifference, lack of professionally trained workers, and a philosophy that the counties themselves should seek the services—all combined to delay the transition. There were, however, some interesting county demonstration units set up on a full-time basis concurrently with the regional program.

The only full-time county demonstration units located in predominantly rural areas in Tennessee were established in Counties A and B in July, 1937, and in

County C in June, 1941.¹⁸ The worker was known as supervisor of the demonstration unit, but actually she was the only child welfare worker in the county and was responsible not only for intake and case work but also for community organization, for extending public understanding and acceptance of the program, as well as securing financial participation. A change was made in the administrative conduct of the local child welfare office when it was made an inherent part of the county office of the Department of Public Welfare in 1940, as had already been done in the regions, thus identifying the child welfare worker as a member of the regular county staff, administratively responsible to the unit supervisor in the matter of requisitions for supplies, requests for annual leave, and approval of reports, but technically responsible to the field supervisor.¹⁹ Intake then flowed through the regular channel, and, on the whole, this arrangement was conducive to a more integrated, more smoothly running procedure.

Local public funds were made available for this demonstration work through an appropriation of the county court or by joint action of the county court and city commission, as previously mentioned. The County B court alone made yearly appropriations of \$900 from the general tax fund for carrying on the services there, supplemented by private contributions from clubs and civic groups who were interested. By 1941 this fund was made a part of the county budget as a regular expenditure of the county, and the worker felt that the services were expanding to the point where an in-

¹⁸ Three additional one-county units have been added since 1942.

¹⁹ In the beginning of the program, supervision of the full-time one-county demonstration units was given by the case consultants; but after 1939, when all supervision was practically abolished, little guidance was given.

creased appropriation would be needed and could be obtained without any difficulty.

In Counties A and C joint action was taken by the city and county on a fifty fifty basis. For the year 1938-39, the county court of County A appropriated from the "pauper fund," earmarked for county medical care, burial expense, and other needs, \$250 to match the \$250 appropriation of the city commissioners, making a total of \$500 to be used in direct services to children. The following year, this appropriation was doubled, and by 1942 the local fund amounted to \$1,400. In County C an initial fund of \$1,200 was voted in July, 1939, while the work was still on a regional basis. Because of this interest and support, headquarters were moved to CC, county seat of County C, in February, 1940, with the understanding that as quickly as possible a full-time worker would be available. This transition was completed in June, 1941, and this unit has continued as one of the most progressive units with strong support from this community. In fact, for its strength, understanding, and foresight, the office of the Department of Public Welfare of County C has been recognized by the state department as a model setup, offering a well-co-ordinated program, containing categorical assistance, general relief through the local Associated Charities, distribution of surplus commodities (now discontinued), certification to W.P.A. and C.C.C. (now discontinued), and service to children through a child welfare worker.

In these demonstration units, the workers' salaries, travel expenses, and stenographers' salaries were at first paid from federal funds, with the hope that the county would eventually take over the entire program. However, since local

public funds for direct services, such as boarding care, were procured only after continued efforts and painstaking interpretation, and then rather precariously, it was not considered wise to present to the courts the matter of full support, which might have defeated further efforts to build up the program. By 1941 it was conceded that "at such time as the counties may share in the administrative costs of the total public welfare program will they be asked to share also in the cost of administering the Child Welfare Services program."²⁰ In 1942 it was definitely recommended that the state take over these administrative costs of the demonstration service as indicative of state and local recognition that the demonstration period had ended in those counties, in order that federal funds previously used for the development of these services be utilized for demonstrations in new areas.²¹

In selecting locations for such demonstration units, attention was directed toward the need for children's services in the county, the interest of public officials and other forces in the community in utilizing the services of a child welfare worker, as well as in providing funds for boarding-home care, medical care, clothing, and for other needs of children. The presence of educational and medical facilities, the adequacy of family service, assistance, and other resources necessary to case work were seriously considered in the possibility of promoting a successful demonstration. On the other hand, the lack of facilities, together with an indication of some probability of their development, stimulated efforts in that

²⁰ This proposal was made as early as 1938 but was not accepted until 1941.

²¹ Memorandum to the Commissioner of Public Welfare from the Supervisor of Child Welfare Services, June 25, 1942. This plan was agreed to but later rejected by the commissioner.

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direction. Important also were the competence and interest of the local welfare staff in developing a co-operative relationship and an understanding of the difference in responsibility between the administration of diversified services and specialized services to children.

COUNTY A

County A,²² one of the first counties to be selected as a demonstration area, is located in the southeastern section of the state, bordering Georgia. The population of the county is approximately 24,000, 92 per cent white and 8 per cent Negro. It covers an area of 336 square miles. This county is the center of a rich farming section, and its population is predominantly rural. The county seat, AA, is of fairly recent development, and its chief manufactured products are textiles and stoves. Almost half of its 10,000 population are employed in the textile mills and foundries.

There was no professionally trained case-work service in the county before the advent of Child Welfare Services. Public assistance under the Social Security Act is administered by the local unit of the Department of Public Welfare. Private funds for family service and relief are disbursed through the Associated Charities, formerly known as the Social Service Bureau. A full-time, low-salaried, untrained, and inexperienced worker filled this position, supplementing grants and giving assistance to families not eligible for public assistance or W.P.A. This service has been largely on a temporary basis and with little investigation. In addition to this, there is the county almshouse and the county pauper's fund administered by the magistrates.

Although the educational system is

well developed, it is estimated that only 89 per cent of the population of school age is enrolled, with only 78 per cent in regular attendance. The chief of police in the county seat has acted as truant officer for the city schools, and the child welfare worker was appointed probation and truant officer for the county, in addition to her other duties, replacing the man employed to repair the school buildings and, incidental to this, serving as truant officer.

A county health unit was established in County A in 1938, and a preventive program was carried out through the routine examination of school children, through regular venereal disease clinics, and through special tuberculosis clinics. A great deal of immunization work has been done, but the lack of nursing personnel had seriously handicapped the follow-up work. In order to carry out the program as set up by the Department of Health, County A would require the full-time services of two physicians and five public health nurses—whereas there is only one physician and one nurse. In the two private hospitals in the county seat, there is no provision for a charity ward, and it has been extremely difficult to obtain hospitalization for indigent patients. There is also no provision for medical care, except that given free of charge by private physicians or provided by the pauper fund. The services of the so-called "county physician" extends to the jail and almshouse inmates for the most part, and this has hardly been the type of service to be sought. There was no provision for dental care except through the interest of civic clubs, which raised small funds for school children when clinical examination indicated that treatment was necessary. However, in this way and through the total co-operation of all physicians

²² A study of this county was made in 1937, included in "Child Welfare Services Plan" (1938-39).

and most of the dentists, no child welfare case went without the service needed. Child Welfare Services became so well accepted and approved that the worker had only to review a case, without identification, either in writing or personally, before a group to get immediate financial support. Often, two cases would be presented for the group to choose one to sponsor and, just as often, their interest would prompt them to support both cases. Some of the cases with their numerous problems called for a mustering of many community resources over a long period to bring about a satisfactory adjustment. Outstanding among such earlier referrals was that of a ten-year-old child who already was following a pattern of delinquency which was leading straight toward a commitment. This is the story of Millie Daniel.²³

Millie's mother had died of tuberculosis, as had her own mother, as had Millie's paternal grandfather, and as her father will soon, if unattended. Millie's married sister has a hemorrhage every day, and her brother, who coughs incessantly, is in the workhouse for larceny. In the home with the tuberculous father were three little girls—Cammie, fourteen, who has an enlarged draining gland on her neck (scrofula); Millie, ten, full of energy and ideas; and Edna, six, bright and pretty but completely untrained. Examinations and X-ray showed these children to be free of infection.

The house is half of a deserted barber-shop on the outskirts of town, poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, and unattractive. The father's work hours, when he is able, from noon to 10 P.M., leave the children without any supervision. Cammie manages on practically nothing, for the father's income dwindled from \$28 per month to \$1 per week and had to be supplemented. She goes to school when she can and will pass the fifth grade. Edna started to school and is progressing nicely. Millie had other notions. She ran about the streets day and night, ragged and dirty. Her school attendance was irregular. She was sometimes seen in the local roadhouse, singing and tap-dancing for

the crowd. She was stealing at school, at the stores, and from the neighbors. Several times she broke into houses and took money, clothing, jewelry, and toys. She created such a general disturbance that many complaints came into the police department. Relatives would keep the other girls, but no one would keep Millie. Her father decided she must go to the "reform school." But Millie was not old enough to be committed to the Vocational School for Girls, and certainly there was no indication that she needed that kind of care. What she needed was medical attention for she was thin and hyperactive; she needed food, clothing, education, attention at school, affection and supervision at home, which she was not getting.

A foster-home was found for Millie, and board was paid from the child welfare fund. The progress she has made since the placement there is encouraging. Her stringy hair has been washed and cut, and the running, festered sores cured through the diligent care of the foster-mother in following the doctor's instructions. Millie's abscessed teeth have been treated and pulled, and the others cleaned by a local dentist without charge. She gets nourishing food, plenty of milk, and cod-liver oil daily. Her gain in weight has been steady. Eye examinations showed Millie's vision was poor; not only was it reasonable to believe that this was to a great extent responsible for her failure to pass the first grade after three years, but that she could not hope to advance without the necessary correction. Glasses were prescribed and fitted by a local eye specialist without charge, except for the actual cost of the glasses which was \$7.50. The father, who had not shown any particular interest in Millie, was delighted with her progress and insisted on paying for her glasses which he did with a small sum each week. He seems relieved that she is well taken care of, that she goes to school regularly and has a chance to pass. Millie is proud of all her pretty clothes and is secure in the knowledge that she looks as nice as the other children. In this new setting, she has not taken anything that does not belong to her.

The doctor who fitted the glasses recommended a tonsillectomy, but there was no money for this, as the child welfare fund barely covered board and was not sufficient to meet other needs, urgent though they were. A local church group became interested and accepted the financial responsibility for the operation. Millie enjoyed her hospital experience and be-

²³ All names are fictitious.

came a favorite of the staff. She told them the child welfare worker was her mother, and one morning very early she rang the emergency bell to tell the nurse who came that she just wanted to hug her.

All is not perfect in Millie's case, as one cannot expect to make perfect in six months the confusion of ten years; but continued efforts can be made toward improvement, to give Millie a chance to be a normal little girl in a normal home situation. Sometime she may again join her family group, if it is not too late to save the father through hospitalization plans which are under way. When he leaves, there is a possibility of placing the other two girls with Millie. There has been no break in the affectional ties among the three sisters, as many weekend visits to the foster-home were arranged. Their own Easter party was lots of fun with kodak pictures taken for their scrapbooks.

At Christmas, Millie made out her list which consisted of *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, Mickey Mouse wrist watch, baby doll with clothes, kodak book, handkerchiefs, cap, and gloves. These things and more were provided on her own Christmas tree by one of the civic clubs, which realized that the needs and wishes of disadvantaged children are the same as of other children and that their disappointments are just as keen.

Recreational facilities in County A were very limited; and one of the first activities of the Child Welfare Council, under the leadership of the Child welfare worker, was to organize a community center with supervised recreational programs in one of the poorest sections of the city where delinquency rates were highest. This project secured public financial support and progressed to the point of permanency. The program included sewing and quilting for the women and girls, workshop activities for the men and boys, and both indoor and outdoor games for all groups. Playground equipment, such as croquet, tennis, baseball, basketball, darts, and horseshoes, were provided for the community center, as well as school playgrounds. The same activities were or-

ganized at the Negro school also, but a limitation of the whole recreational program was that it operated only within the city.

The chief of police, who was greatly concerned about the problem of juvenile delinquency, approached it with a sympathetic attitude and a distinct interest in discovering the underlying causes and having them treated. He was a friend to the boys and girls and took an active part in organizing baseball clubs. His support of the child welfare program was wholeheartedly co-operative, and the disposal of the many city cases coming before him for trial depended on the recommendation of the child welfare worker. As was the Chief, so were other police officers co-operative, with the exception of one who acted punitively toward child offenders. Shortly after this was called to the attention of the Chief, there seemed to be a lessening of pressure there. Ministers, lawyers, school officials, and the city clerk were helpful to the worker and made use of services by referring cases. The city commissioners accepted the program and watched the process with some expression of interest but were slow in giving adequate financial backing.

In the county the picture was somewhat different. County officials were willing to give information or to allow the worker access to county records, especially those relating to commitments and custody. The sheriff and his deputy, with whom there was much work to be done, were completely unaware of modern treatment programs. They must have been aware, however, of the unjust treatment of juveniles and also the dishonest use of county funds which they seemed willing to overlook and do nothing about. They seemed to have adopted a policy of "hands-off" in the matter of

inspecting or closing corrupt roadhouses, which served as breeding places of delinquency, yielding returns to other "law enforcing" officers. One nonsalaried, fee-receiving constable was found to be a menace to the youth of the county, and it was only after watching his questionable methods, working with a number of his victims, and much publicizing of the findings that the worker was able to break up what was believed to be a "racket."

By studying the situation closely, gaining the confidence of the chief of police and deputy sheriff, and checking county records it was learned that, in addition to a \$2.50 fee for arrest, the extravagant travel expense of 20 cents per mile was paid to officials for transporting children to "reform schools." The fact that a round trip of 211 miles to the State Training and Agricultural School for White Boys in Nashville paid \$42.20 left little doubt that it was a profitable temptation to make as many child arrests as possible. Furthermore, there was added profit in taking more than one child, which made a gala occasion of the day when eight boys were arrested.

In one instance of this kind the constable was reported to have arranged with an accomplice to suggest to a sixteen-year-old farm boy that automobiles parked at a road house might be "taken." The boy entered a car and was promptly arrested by the lurking official. The ignorant, fearful relatives of the boy were helpless in the situation, and the constable took an inhumane and unfair advantage of them. He agreed to settle the matter out of court if the family would pay him what he would have made by taking the boy to the "reformatory," but there was a warning that if they tried to defend the boy a commitment

would be made. The child welfare worker entered the case at this point and, with this information, not only prevented a commitment but was thereafter able to curb the activities of an officer who had at heart neither the interest nor the protection of the youth of the county.

The crippled and partially blind county judge operated a stock barn aside from his duties as county and juvenile judge and could never be located for private conferences. He did not attend meetings of the Advisory Council or indicate that the child welfare program was of any benefit to the county. He functioned inadequately and indifferently toward the social ills of his county, especially in cases of delinquency and adoption. His juvenile trials were not private, but very informal; and, although it is true he had had no facilities for making social investigations in the past, he did not take advantage of Child Welfare Services when they were available. He seemed to have no objection to the service or little interest in it. As far as he was concerned, it was almost as if such services did not exist. He would listen in a preoccupied manner to a hastily presented case, agree to any request or suggestion, then completely ignore it in his action, as seen in the following case:

Artie James,²⁴ fourteen, was arrested for housebreaking and lodged in the county jail, since there were no other detention quarters. His actual offense had been slashing some waterproof screens at a skating rink from which he had been barred. His mother was dead, and his father made no home for the boy, leaving him much to his own resources. Artie, small for his age, appeared to be no older than ten years. He did not attend school and needed immediate attention for tonsils, eyes, and teeth. At the trial he was thoroughly frightened and cried for his father, who was not present and who, it was later learned, had not even been notified.

²⁴ All names are fictitious.

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The child welfare worker interceded for the boy and won the judge's permission to supervise the case in the home of a sister. However, before Artie could be removed from jail, the constable spirited him away to the State Training School—with the knowledge and consent of the judge. In the opinion of officials concerned with the case, it was discouraging to run around all night to arrest such boys only to have them released to the child welfare worker and again turned loose on the "unprotected public." They admitted that an institutional experience might not benefit the boy, but it got him out of the way for awhile.

Inefficiency was also only too obvious in adoption hearings, which were conducted on the first appearance of the petitioner with the consent of the parents, however obtained, and with no information other than that revealed at the moment. This, naturally, resulted in some profoundly unhappy arrangements. Conspicuous among these was the case of an immature, unmarried girl of questionable reputation whom the judge permitted to adopt an eighteen-month-old child from a family receiving aid to dependent children—a family in which the mother was ill and where temporary care for the child was needed. Several equally unfortunate prospective adoptions were halted by the worker by presenting the cases to the judge, although unrequested by him. In one case, an unemployed, single man, who had been sharing an aid to dependent children grant with the mother of an illegitimate child, not his own, made a number of efforts to have his sister adopt the child for him when the mother died. This plan undoubtedly would have been completed except for the worker's interference and the offer, finally accepted, of foster-home plans.

Some highly publicized, almost melodramatic, adoptions have been consummated by leading families in the county and are watched by people in general,

who consider these cases "acts of providence." It is not uncommon to hear discussion from time to time of a couple who plan to adopt a child as soon as some family group is broken. Long and arduous efforts of the case worker were concentrated effectively on one family to prevent just such action from taking place:

A young mother and four attractive children under six years of age were deserted by the father when he lost his job, overwhelmed as he was already by his responsibilities. There was no means of support for the family, although the mother was on the waiting list to make application for aid to dependent children. When the news spread that the family was broken at last, and that there were four healthy children without a livelihood, "certain families, who has been watching the situation, swooped down on this mother like so many vultures to pick among the lot." One woman, who could not get the consent of her husband to the adoption of a child, "borrowed" the year-old, nursing baby to take home with her for a week in an effort to change her husband's mind. Two of the other children were "let out" to be fed for a week or two with possible adoption plans in mind. The oldest child would not let his mother out of sight for fear someone would get him, too.

When the child welfare worker reached the family, the mother was in tears, distracted by grief and worry, and under medical care. She couldn't remember the names or addresses of those who had taken the children, and she spoke of being "haunted" by the memory of the unfortunate adoption of her own younger brother and by the seeming helplessness of her position. Supported in this emotional crisis, the mother proved to be a capable person, deeply fond of the children. An aid to dependent children grant was secured; the children were located and brought home; and the mother, who had been "ready to give up," found hope and confidence in her ability to go on in the face of difficulties. The worker established contact with the father as soon as possible and, after a few months of gradually working his way back into the family, he announced to the worker that the grant was no longer needed since he had taken up his former employment and responsibilities in the home.

Without the necessary service and encouragement, this case could so easily have turned out otherwise in a community where officials, intrusted with the vital duty of promoting security for children, attach so little importance to the welfare of these future citizens.

Foster-home program.—In the demonstration units, as well as in the regions, by far the greater number of children were supervised in their own homes or in the homes of relatives. However, despite every effort to conserve the natural home, some children had to be cared for away from their own families. At one time in the development of child care it was thought sufficient that children be kept alive and spared the worst forms of suffering; but, later, it was recognized that true child welfare meant providing for every child those things which his own home should have given. This principle was well formulated in the words of John Dewey, when he said: "What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must the community want for all its children."²⁵

In County A, as over the entire state, with the exception of Memphis and Knoxville, which supported Children's Bureaus, and the Masonic Home in Nashville, there was no provision for the care and supervision of neglected and dependent children away from their homes other than through commitment to institutions. A program of boarding-home care, totally unfamiliar to the community, was introduced gradually at the beginning of the demonstration service to supplement the care offered by

institutions or to provide substitute plans when indicated. It may be re-emphasized that the small child welfare funds will in no way meet the full needs of children under care, but, for the most part, must be devoted to the boarding-home program.

In a few cases, use is made of free homes where no board is paid and where foster-parents assume full responsibility for meeting all expenses; and wage homes where older children can defray their own expenses by assisting with farm and house work within the limitations of their age and physical ability.²⁶ Even though chosen with care and closely supervised, such homes do not serve the purpose of foster-care as well as the homes to which a monthly boarding rate averaging \$15 per child is paid in exchange for the advantages of normal happy family life for a child who has been deprived of them.

Selection of these substitute homes is made on the basis of the ability of the foster-family to provide for a child a wholesome environment, free from financial strain and with protection from infectious diseases or undercurrents of discord and insecurity. Foster-parents are chosen for their interest and intelligent understanding of children, for their attitudes toward educational opportunities and participation in community activities, creating total surroundings which will result in the development of healthy, happy children.²⁷

During 1941-42 emphasis was placed on the development of this phase of the child welfare program over the whole state. The fact that, after five years of earnest endeavor, there were only 130 children in foster-family homes of all types—65 in boarding-homes, 49 in free

²⁵ John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1899), p. 3. Conveniently cited in Neva R. Deardorff, "Child Welfare," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. R. A. Seligman, III (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), 374; also cited in Grace Abbott, *The Child and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), II, 611.

²⁶ Department of Public Welfare, *Annual Report, 1941-42*, p. 62.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

homes, and 16 older children in work or wage homes—tells a story of efforts exerted against odds that are gradually but surely being overcome.

The development of adequate boarding-home care for children in a rural community is not an easy task. The value and need of foster-family care must be given as much publicity and interpretation as any other phase of a child welfare program, perhaps more. It has been the experience in County A that some of the Advisory Committee members, who were naturally the ones to look to for support in spreading the philosophy of this modern type of child care, were not very enthusiastic about the use of public funds for boarding-homes, while there were yet private children's institutions of long standing and on the boards of which some of these committee members served. Thus the worker learned that, in order to educate the community through the use of the committee, she must first educate the committee.

It is inevitable that a whole small community will know of a family's difficulty and watch developments. Sympathetic citizens sometimes are willing to assist the worker in discovering resources, or they prove useful in suggesting foster-homes; but, more often, this general knowledge of the problems presented by a child at home or at school as well as community information on the child's background, serves to check rather than promote adjustment.

It is hardly possible to keep an adequate, active file of foster-homes in a very new program. Some fruitful suggestions come from interested committee members, schoolteachers, and active members of church and civic organizations reached by the child welfare worker. Frequent newspaper articles keep the subject before the public; and on almost

every reference contact that is encouraging, some time is given to a discussion of foster-homes. One unsatisfactory placement in a community can easily retard progress, and a favorable placement may lead to other possibilities. Good sources of prospective foster-homes are successful foster-parents. Undoubtedly, in some cases, work with children is delayed and opportunities lost for the want of the right foster-home at the right time and the lack of finances to pay adequate board. Hard pressed with the demands of administration, community organization, and case work, the child welfare worker cannot always give the time needed for the development of the foster-home program.

The first case to require boarding care through the child welfare program in County A was a child removed from the almshouse;

Emma Lee²⁸ was born in a tent without medical aid, an illegitimate child of an illegitimate, feeble-minded deaf-mute. At the age of one month, she was placed with her mother at the county poor farm, where she had little chance to live. No special care was given to her, and she slept in a tin washtub under her mother's bed. After ten months, she could not sit alone, or even hold up her head. She had cut no teeth.

Following the almshouse study, the child welfare worker placed Emma in a boarding-home where she would be cared for and given an opportunity to live and grow. Through careful nursing and constant medical attention remarkable progress was noted. After a few months of good diet and care, Emma cut four teeth, and, in spite of her early handicap, she walked at thirteen months. Her hearing and speech are normal.

In this substitute way, the community is providing for a child the affection of foster-parents and the security of a real home.

Illustrative of years of neglect is the case of nineteen-year-old Ethel Miller,²⁹ referred by the sheriff.

²⁸ All names are fictitious.

²⁹ All names are fictitious.

Ethel was homeless, as she had been since the age of five. Her parents were divorced and each had remarried, and the children were scattered. Ethel had been rejected by one relative after another; and at the age of nineteen, as a result of these years of deprivation filled with unfortunate experiences, she was illegitimately pregnant, had gonorrhea, scabies, Vincent's disease, and an attitude of defiance toward a society that did not fulfil its duty to a dependent child.

Boarding-home plans were made and complete medical care given. Hospitalization was furnished when Ethel was delivered of a premature, four-and-a-half-pound baby, who did not live. Regular treatments were continued for over a year until Ethel was dismissed as cured of all infections, although periodic check-ups were made. On one occasion she ran away from the foster-home only to be found waiting at the office for the child welfare worker on the following day. She made a request for her possessions at the foster-home and seemed amazed that she did not have to leave or that she was not asked for an explanation of her absence. She was happy to get "back home," but on the way she asked the worker, "Don't you want to know where I've been?" The worker did if Ethel wanted to tell. Her story was never verified but Ethel made no further attempt to leave. Instead, she made friends in the community, joined a church, and assisted in the children's summer Bible school. She remained in the foster-home almost two years, increasing her skills in housekeeping, cooking, and sewing, but, better still, in changing her attitude toward society and herself.

It cannot be said that the situation in County A was typical of that in all other demonstration units; for, although many similar problems occurred, there were found varying degrees of interest and participation, perhaps more in other counties, not so able to support a child welfare program as was County A.

COUNTY B³⁰

County B, designated as a demonstration unit at the same time as County A,

³⁰ A Study of County B was made in 1937 and was included in "Child Welfare Services Plans" (1936-37 and 1937-38).

covers an area of 450 square miles, has a population of approximately 23,000, and is located in the extreme western section of the state, on the Mississippi River. This is not a wealthy county and is subject to frequent floods, having been greatly affected by the devastating Ohio-Mississippi-Valley flood in 1937.

One of the major crops of this rural section is cotton. Housing, in many parts of the county, is poor and inadequate. Poverty, due to unemployment and insufficient income, often contributes to substandard living. Health problems of tuberculosis and pellagra are common, but there is an active and efficient county health unit combating this situation.

Recreation consists of facilities in connection with the schools, Boy Scout troops, and 4-H Clubs. There are theaters in three of the towns; and in the rural communities the church plays a large part in the social life of the residents. The educational system is considered adequate, and in the county seats (population 2,300) free textbooks are furnished to all children in the city schools. Many children, however, are unable to attend because of insufficient clothing and undernourishment.³¹

Family assistance and service is administered by the local unit of the Department of Public Welfare and the Red Cross. The only county relief is through the "pauper list" and the almshouse. There was no service available for care and supervision of children away from their own homes and no social service to the court in handling children's cases before the child welfare unit was established. The major interest of the local officials was in developing a service to deal with the high rate of juvenile delinquency.³² In this, the worker's great-

³¹ "Child Welfare Service Plan" (1936-37), p. 1.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 1 and 6.

est contribution has been in reorienting the community's own attitude toward the problem, enlisting its support of the child welfare program, in which children having difficulties are supervised in their own homes or in the homes of relatives, instead of the time-honored but ineffective institutional plan. It was in this county that the first service requested of the child welfare worker was by the judge, who had just learned of a vacancy in the Tennessee Industrial School and wanted to fill it immediately. When the worker was able to suggest a substitute form of care for the child he had in mind, the judge consented but was still convinced he could find another child to send.³³

COUNTY C³⁴

County C, the third full-time demonstration unit, is located in the north-central part of the state on the Kentucky line. It contains 516 square miles and has a population of almost 31,000, approximately one-third Negro, of whom 9,229 are residents of the county seat. Nearly two-thirds of the population are in rural areas. County C is divided into twenty-two districts and has forty-six magistrates, who meet quarterly, with the county judge as chairman. The county judge is also the criminal court judge and handles juvenile cases in the county. Those in the city are handled by a city judge, although neither judge has time to function as a juvenile judge owing to the pressure of other activities.

County C ranks between twelfth and fifteenth in the state in wealth and size. Tobacco has long been the leading agricultural crop, and the processing of

this crop has been the chief industrial occupation. In addition, there are cigar and snuff factories and a newly established rubber plant, supplying the largest pay roll.

There are forty-eight elementary white schools, enrolling 2,937 children, and thirty elementary Negro schools, enrolling 1,209 children. Located over the county are five two-year high schools for white children and one four-year high school with an enrolment of 785. The only high school for Negro children has an enrolment of 261. These schools have free medical examinations and free dental inspection once each year.

The two hospitals, one for white people and one for Negroes, contain eighty beds, are modern, and well equipped with a staff of competent physicians and nurses. There is an active public health unit performing a creditable service. The attractive parks and playgrounds do not provide a well-rounded, supervised recreation program; but the Community Center, located in one of the crowded slum areas, supplements this with boys' and girls' clubs, a mothers' club, a nursery school formerly under W.P.A. sponsorship, and general recreational activities. Most of the various men's clubs and the federated women's clubs have some project of a welfare nature which they sponsor, yet there is no case-work service provided by them. It was believed there would be funds from these sources which might well be utilized as child welfare resources. There is already much interest and civic pride but also an overlapping of welfare activities and some rivalry. This is mostly true of the county seat, while the rural areas are largely untouched by such private efforts, yet need special attention. The Red Cross drive yields over \$8,000 to be used for general relief purposes,

³³ County B Narrative Reports.

³⁴ This study of County C is included in "Child Welfare Services Plan" (1940-41).

to which is added a \$2,000 annual appropriation by the county court. This fund is administered by the unit supervisor of the Department of Public Welfare, who also serves as the Red Cross executive.

The whole picture in County C, though in need of some co-ordination of activities, was more encouraging with regard to the possibilities of successful demonstration child welfare work than other areas.³⁵ Foremost among the problems facing the child welfare worker were those of illegitimacy, delinquency, and neglect. The \$1,200 initial welfare fund has continued in effect and, aside from the special needs, has served as a boarding fund for as many as seventeen children at one time.

On the whole, workers in the demonstration units have made real progress in gaining community acceptance and developing an understanding of the type of service they are qualified to render. The changes in the trend of referrals—showing a decrease in requests for financial assistance and an increase of child placement and behavior problems—are indicative of the communities' growing conception of the child welfare workers' real function. Furthermore, the demonstrations have succeeded not only in creating an awareness of the value of such service but also in stimulating local officials and other citizens to a better understanding of their responsibility for child welfare.³⁶

³⁵ The plan of administration followed that of other demonstration units, but the better-than-usual co-operative working relationships and leadership in this office, together with the training possibilities there, placed County C within the range of a prospective student field-work unit for the Nashville Graduate School of Social Work.

³⁶ *Child Welfare Services under the Social Security Act* (U.S. Children's Bureau Pub. No. 257 [Washington, 1940]), p. 58.

AREA OF SPECIAL NEED

The emphasis of Child Welfare Services has been on predominantly rural areas, where, for the most part, there has been a greater lack of resources than in urban areas. Even though resources are available, experience has shown that they are not always used to best advantage or that there still may be gaps requiring a new type of service. This was true in County D, in the central part of the state. Although it was predominantly urban and had a multiplicity of social agencies, there had never been a family service agency in the community or an adequate program of boarding care for children in need of placement. There were long lists of children awaiting admittance to institutions, yet no provision was made for the child whose term of institutional experience was over and who had no home to which return was possible. The number of children at the county almshouse and the disproportionately high number of children committed to the State Training and Agricultural School from County D, together with evidence of extreme poverty, poor housing, and health problems, were factors in bringing about the designation of this county as an area of special need. It was on this basis that approval was given in July, 1938, for the establishment of a child welfare demonstration unit.

To perform the needed services, a qualified child welfare worker was added to the County D office of the Department of Public Welfare, in a relationship similar to that characterizing the other county demonstration units, although here supervision was given by the supervisor of Child Welfare Services.³⁷

³⁷ In Counties D and A supervision was given by the supervisor of Child Welfare Services; in other demonstration units by the case consultants, later field supervisors.

Duties of the worker included the making of social studies for the juvenile court, service to children in their own homes, foster-homes, or institutions, and a demonstration of case-work methods to the school adjustment court with a view toward establishing social service as a part of the court. There was the further responsibility of developing a county boarding fund through studying and interpreting the need for a sound program of foster-home care to supplant the indiscriminate use of institutions. Although it was thought that County D, second wealthiest county in the state, should be able to finance such a program, the proper leadership had apparently never been available, and those interested in such a development were looking to Child Welfare Services for initial guidance.

This unit operated somewhat as planned with a resulting monthly case load of approximately seventy-five children. Thirteen children were placed at board, at an average boarding rate of \$20 per month. This expense was met through the state boarding and special-needs fund, contributions from parents, and other private donations. It was hoped that the state or local community would arrange to carry on the work at the expiration of the demonstration period; but, when support was not provided, despite repeated efforts and demonstrations, federal funds were withdrawn and the unit ceased to function after June 30, 1941. Again the court had no facility for investigations; some of the children in foster-homes were accepted in institutions, and County D missed an opportu-

nity to take a forward step in progressive service to scores of disadvantaged children. However, the groundwork had been laid, some valuable promotional work had been done through the committee, and there was hope for a future program with a change to more liberal and farsighted city and county administrations.

The first five years of operation of Child Welfare Services in Tennessee constitute a period during which there were introduced into the state new ideas and new methods of handling children's problems. Undoubtedly, more progress would have been made had those in charge of the program been given free rein in the exercise of their knowledge and insight or been left unhampered in the performance of their duties. Despite an encouraging beginning, there is no questioning the fact that movement in the field of child welfare in Tennessee was unnecessarily impeded, even to the extent of regression in some areas.

In spite of handicaps, trend of progress in Tennessee has been toward a broadened concept of child welfare with concern for every child in every section of the state, "regardless of race or color or situation." It is only by this concern in providing the essentials necessary for the full development of children, wherever they are and wherever they live, that society can hope today's children will be equipped to furnish the dynamic leadership required for the tasks of the future.

SCARRITT COLLEGE
NASHVILLE

NOTES AND COMMENT BY THE EDITOR

INTEGRATION—WHICH WAY?

DISCUSSION of the integration of such services as old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and aid to the blind with general relief has been common among social workers ever since the Social Security Board was organized. More recently the fact that the Wagner-Murray Bill (Title XII) provides for a "Unified Public Assistance Program" has led to further discussions of this subject. When the Social Security Act was passed, the Social Security Board was given the administration of the three forms of benefit which were provided for in Title I (Old Age Assistance), Title IV (Aid to Dependent Children), and Title X (Aid to the Blind). The Board decided to put these three forms of benefit all in one bureau, which they called a Bureau of Public Assistance. The term "public assistance" is nowhere used in the Social Security Act, and no government bureau, of course, has any authority to destroy the categories set up under Titles I, IV, and X and to "integrate" these benefits under the head of something called "public assistance." As a matter of fact, the general policy of the new public assistance authorities in different parts of the country—apparently with encouragement from Washington—has been to administer these three benefits along with the old poor relief in hundreds of counties all over the country. This has been a step backward in the development of public welfare services, since the general trend should be to get rid of poor relief and provide special services for special categories instead of putting everyone in the old general relief pool. It is said to be simpler for the administrators and cheaper for the authorities involved to "integrate" Titles I, IV, and X on the basis of the administration of tests of eligibility. But a cheap service convenient for the administrator is not necessarily a

good service. The public services are established for the benefit of the clients. And the services needed by the families of young children getting A.D.C. and the services needed by an aged man or his wife, or both, getting an old age assistance grant have little or nothing in common, and adequate services for the blind should be equally specialized.

The trouble with the integration policy that the Social Security Board has seemed to foster has been that it is integration in the wrong direction. These three separate benefits for three very different classes in our communities are "integrated" because eligibility must be established on the basis of need. That is, they are integrated on the basis of destitution, integrated on the basis of the means test, to be administered in many places along with poor relief on the basis of the old pauper law system. But old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children are not meant to be poor relief services; they were planned to emancipate our people from the old poor law system.

What we should have is the right kind of integration in the right direction. Aid to dependent children is certainly meant to be a child welfare service, and A.D.C. should be integrated with child welfare services, not with poor relief. From the granting of the first mothers' pension in the state of Illinois in 1911, the hope of persons supporting this kind of grant has been to get these mothers and their children who are dependent for a long period of time provided for under conditions which will give them not only more adequate cash grants but adequate services; and the services these families of children need are not the services needed by the aged men and women getting old age assistance grants, nor are they the services needed by the blind who are getting cash grants under Title X. Cash grants for

the blind should be integrated with other services for the blind. Since there are not enough blind clients in large numbers of counties to make possible any special worker to carry on services for the blind, there should be a complete overhauling of the whole system of cash grants for blind people. This would probably mean a special grant-in-aid to a special state service or state division for the blind and would require the setting-up of such a unified service if it does not already exist. Plans for the education and re-education of the blind, plans for the employment of the blind, and other plans and services, as well as medical care, should all be made available. This cannot be done by local so-called assistance workers in most counties. The state services for the blind should have regional workers, and these regional workers could give the special services needed by the blind when there are not enough blind cases in any one county to justify the presence of a special worker for the blind.

The present trend toward integration has gone as far in the wrong direction as it can possibly go without becoming very reactionary. That is, if we continue to drift along, labeling everything "public assistance," we shall soon be back in the old days of a general destitution authority, whether this is labeled a pauper law authority or public assistance. This reverses the long-time trend toward specialized services for special groups and the general demobilization of the old poor law. The old poor law certainly integrated the needs of the community. The pauper law authorities gave service to everyone, including the blind, the deaf, the insane, as well as the sick and the unemployed, dependent children, and all other destitute groups under one general destitution authority. We are heading back that way, and some effort should be made by those who care about the public services to reverse this trend. Let us have our integration on the basis of the kind of services needed and not on the basis of establishing "eligibility" through a series of means tests and the endless and unnecessary computing of budgets.

THE DETERRENT PUBLIC ASSISTANCE MEANS TESTS

UNDER the title "Public Assistance—A Constructive Program," *Public Welfare*, the very useful journal of the American Public Welfare Association, refers to the quotation of the statement by Dr. Stuart Rice carried in the March number of the same journal: "I am so old-fashioned, perhaps, as to feel that a refusal to accept relief in spite of privation is somewhat praiseworthy, and that its acceptance involves the risks of moral deterioration. I hold to beliefs in individual freedom and individual responsibility, and I am apprehensive of the so-called 'pauperizing of the poor.'" But Dr. Rice also suggested that fears regarding the growing willingness to accept relief were like those

expressed a century ago regarding public education. Was pride of "independence" in 1830 [Dr. Rice asked] a greater virtue than the education of one's children? Or—today—than the preservation of health and fitness for oneself and one's family? Our generation disapproves of those who reject public aid by refusing to send their children to public school, when this means a neglect of education. Will a subsequent generation disapprove of those who reject public aid when the rejection means privation, or a neglect of health or personal efficiency?

The editor of *Public Welfare* comments in the April issue of that *Journal*:

Many of us like to feel that public assistance is a public service, to be called upon whenever it is truly needed; but we may well ask how far we have come in removing the stigma from the receipt of public assistance. . . . That we in the public welfare field have failed to establish this point is recently indicated by a passage in the Baruch-Hancock report on *War and Post-War Adjustment Policies*. "The returning soldier should not be forced to look to charity or community help. He has rights that rise above that. When he returns to his home community, there should be one place to which he can go in dignity and where he can be told of his rights and where to get them." With the substance of that recommendation we agree; but we object strenuously to the implications that community help is still nothing more than charity, that community help must of necessity involve a

loss of dignity, and that a needy person has no "right" to community help.

What Dr. Rice and *Public Welfare* fail to note is that the basic objection to public assistance is the means test. As long as it is necessary for a man to submit to an investigation regarding his lack of means and then to be certified for public aid on the basis of the degree of destitution to which he has fallen, there is a loss of self-respect and independence when such aid is accepted. Education was made free for everyone, rich and poor, and the means test was swept away long before education was made compulsory. In the days when children paid school fees and parents who were unable to pay could send their children to the schools only by getting the overseers of the poor to pay the fees for them or by getting a remission of fees because of destitution, many parents refused to send their children to school because that would subject them to the humiliation of asking for a remission of fees because of their poverty; that is, in the days when the means test was applied to those who received free education there was the same reluctance to ask for this kind of public benefit. That is the reason every effort should be made by those responsible for our social welfare planning to study methods of doing away with the means test for one category after another. Without any question, this should be done for the unemployed. That is, the unemployed, who will be numerous enough to disturb public opinion in the days ahead, should be taken care of as unemployed men and not as destitute persons to be investigated by a public assistance bureau. This subject has been discussed before in this *Review*.¹

Old age pensions could also be made a public benefit without a means test, but this has also been discussed before in these columns.² If the means test cannot be en-

¹ Edith Abbott, "Unemployment Relief a Federal Responsibility," *Social Service Review*, XIV (1940), 438-52; "Work or Maintenance: A Federal Program for the Unemployed," *ibid.*, XV (1941), 520-32.

² See "Abolish the Means Test for Old Age Assistance," *ibid.*, XVII (June, 1943), 213-15.

tirely abolished immediately, it could at least be mitigated. Such mitigation, for example, would come by removing the means test for relatives by doing away completely with the responsibility of relatives,³ certainly for old age pensions, and, if possible, also under the poor law. In many states there is no responsibility of relatives for the support of the blind, and the means test for aid to the blind in many states is much less severe than for the other categories.

We have not gone far enough in mitigating the means test to make our public assistance services useful to persons with self-respect.

THE "CHARTER" ADOPTED BY THE I.L.O.

MANY social workers will have read the so-called charter adopted by the General Conference of the International Labour Organization meeting in its twenty-sixth session in Philadelphia. This document is reprinted here as the most recent "declaration of the aims and purposes of the International Labour Organization and of the principles which should inspire the policy of its members."

The *New York Times* (May 14, 1944) suggests "counsel of perfection" as a description of the I.L.O. charter. But the *Times*, nevertheless, acknowledges that the declaration was not made by "an unofficial debating society" but represents action taken "by delegates representing the Governments, employers and organized workers of practically the whole anti-Axis world, with the exception of Russia." It is well known, of course, that no Russian delegates were present because the I.L.O. is still affiliated with the League of Nations; and, since Russia was expelled from the League after her invasion of Finland, she will, unfortunately, have nothing to do with an organization that is an affiliate of the League.

The *Times* also acknowledged that, although we cannot expect the principles of the Charter "to be expressed in national and

³ See *ibid.* for a statement regarding efforts of certain states to do away with family responsibility.

international practice on the morning after the war's end," nevertheless the charter sets forth the "ideals toward which all of us believe civilization ought to move." The real question obviously is one of ways and means, although the I.L.O. conference has not told us how to solve this question but rather has set up "a standard toward which, in its ripening wisdom, mankind may advance."

The five articles of the charter are as follows:

I

The conference reaffirms the fundamental principles on which the organization is based and, in particular, that:

- a) Labor is not a commodity;
- b) Freedom of expression and of association are essential to sustained progress;
- c) Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere;
- d) The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

II

Believing that experience has fully demonstrated the truth of the statement in the preamble to the constitution of the International Labour Organization that lasting peace can be established only if it is based on social justice, the conference affirms that:

- a) All human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursuit of both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity;
- b) The attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy;
- c) All national and international policies and measures, in particular those of an economic and financial character, should be judged in this light and accepted only in so far as they may be held to promote and not to hinder the achievement of this fundamental objective;
- d) It is a responsibility of the International Labour Organization to examine and consider all

international economic and financial policies and measures in the light of this fundamental objective;

e) In discharging the tasks entrusted to it the International Labour Organization, having considered all relevant economic and financial factors, may include in its decision and recommendations any provisions which it considers appropriate.

III

The conference recognizes the solemn obligation of the International Labour Organization to further among the nations of the world programs which will achieve:

- a) Full employment and the raising of standards of living;
- b) The employment of workers in the occupations in which they can have the satisfaction of giving the fullest measure of their skill and attainments and make their greatest contribution to the common well-being;
- c) The provision, as a means to the attainment of this end and under adequate guarantees for all concerned, of facilities for training and the transfer of labor, including migration for employment and settlement;
- d) Policies in regard to wages and earnings, hours and other conditions of work calculated to insure a just share of the fruits of progress to all, and a minimum living wage to all employed and in need of such protection;
- e) The effective recognition of the right of collective bargaining, the cooperation of management and labor in the continuous improvement of productive efficiency, and the collaboration of workers and employers in the preparation and application of social and economic measures;
- f) The extension of social security measures to provide a basic income to all in need of such protection and comprehensive medical care;
- g) Adequate protection for the life and health of workers in all occupations;
- h) Provision for child welfare and maternity protection;
- i) The provision of adequate nutrition, housing and facilities for recreation and culture;
- j) The assurance of equality of educational and vocational opportunity.

IV

Confident that the fuller and broader utilization of the world's productive resources necessary for the achievement of the objective set

forth in this declaration can be secured by effective international and national action, including measures to expand production and consumption, to avoid severe economic fluctuations, to promote the economic and social advancement of the less developed regions of the world, to assure greater stability in world prices of primary products, and to promote a high and steady volume of international trade, the conference pledges the full cooperation of the International Labour Organization with such international bodies as may be entrusted with a share of the responsibility for this great task and for the promotion of the health, education and well-being of all peoples.

V

The conference affirms that the principles set forth in this declaration are fully applicable to all peoples everywhere and that, while the manner of their application must be determined with due regard to the stage of social and economic development reached by each people, their progressive application to peoples who are still dependent, as well as to those who have already achieved self-government, is a matter of concern to the whole civilized world.

DEMOBILIZATION AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

THE lessons to be learned from the experience of demobilization after the first World War are invaluable to us at the present time, and we are again indebted to the *Monthly Labor Review*¹ for an important study that social workers will want to read. We are reminded that, in the first World War, study of the problem of demobilization was not begun until a month before the end of the war, and the need for haste at the time led to mistakes that might have been avoided with advance planning. Nor was any program adopted for the effective return of the industrial worker to peacetime production. The *Labor Review* reminds us also of the unforeseen problems which arose during demobilization after the first World

¹ "Demobilization of Manpower, 1918-19," *Monthly Labor Review* (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics) March, 1944. A preceding article on this subject was summarized in the *Social Service Review*, March, 1944, pp. 94-95.

War. The task will be much greater today—"The number of men will be three times as large as in 1918-19 and soldiers from the United States will have served longer and in more combat areas, so that the period of their demobilization may be longer than was the case after World War I."

Some extracts from this important article are presented here:

During the winter and spring of 1919 . . . the War Department was besieged by citizens of all classes urging that the released soldiers be withdrawn from the industrial centers which were also faced with the problem of dealing with thousands of unemployed war workers for whom the Federal Government had provided no means of carry-over from wartime to civilian employment. . . . It was important that the men in France, regardless of period of service, should be returned to this country as soon as possible. . . .

The first move toward demobilization made by the General Staff was on October 8, 1918, just a month before the Armistice. It was then suggested that, because of the enormous expense connected with the military establishment and the desirability of a speedy return to normal economic conditions, repatriation and demobilization of the armed forces should be accomplished with the least practicable delay. . . .

The General Staff reviewed four distinctly different policies for the demobilization of the soldiers at the close of World War I. One was accepted, and three were rejected.

The method adopted, that of discharge by military units, is a matter of record. The public is less familiar with the other three plans. They proposed demobilization (a) by industrial needs or occupations, (b) by locality (through the use of the local or regional draft boards), and (c) by length of service. . . .

A memorandum recommending discharge of the soldiers through the local draft boards was submitted to the Chief of Staff on November 11, Armistice Day, by the Provost Marshal General, who had been in close association with these boards during his administration of the Selective Service Act. . . .

The Government had already made provision for family allotments, term insurance, Liberty Bond allotments, compensation for disability, etc., the carrying-out of which would require months of administrative activity at the best. Delays were bound to occur as a result of

the difficulties of handling official investigations through a central agency far removed from any intimate knowledge of the individual facts. As the Provost Marshal General saw it, it was "imperative to employ . . . an agency localized in each community to serve as the local intermediary between the Government and the soldier."

He also believed that the individual welfare of the soldier would be furthered by the adoption of this method:

The returned soldier . . . has in all times been an element of unrest in the community. . . . [He] has just been freed from a rigid system of restraint; he is something of a licensed hero; and however young, he now thinks himself a veteran, and emancipated from control. There ought to be some central agency that is charged to look after him. That agency is the local board. . . . There will be an intense need in most communities, and for a large portion of the returned soldiers to all communities, of some sort of a controlling and supervising influence. This individual welfare of the returned soldier is not exactly his moral welfare, but it is something above and beyond his economic welfare. It is not easy to describe but it is a very real thing [National Archives, War Department, Files of Chief of Staff: Draft Boards].

The memorandum was forwarded to the Secretary of War and then on November 26 to the Director of Operations for review. It was too late, however, for this memorandum to be considered, as orders had already gone out on November 19 to begin demobilization from camps in the United States by organization or military unit, and the adoption of this traditional method had been announced by the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff. . . .

The plan of demobilization in accordance with length of service, the system finally used by Great Britain, was considered by the General Staff and rejected for valid reasons. The United States had been at war a relatively short time. Most of the overseas troops had been abroad little more than 6 months. Almost 50 per cent of emergency Army was in camps in the United States, and some of these men had been in camp only a few weeks. Others, chiefly in the Services of Supply and other services needed for the administration of the camps, had served longer than many of the troops abroad. . . .

Demobilization was scarcely under way before complaints and requests for special treatment of individual or group cases began to pour into the War Department. The flood of discharged servicemen into the large industrial

areas brought an avalanche of calls for modifications in the demobilization program. Most of the letters dealt with one of two problems—the danger to the community of too rapid demobilization, or the need for obtaining the prompt discharge of men needed in specific industries. These complaints and the tenor of the replies reflect the haste with which the reversal from mobilization to demobilization was undertaken and the desirability of a program from the outset which would have combined the best elements of the several policies proposed. The complaints mounted, most of them suggesting a modification of the system being used, in order to divert the discharged soldiers away from the large cities.

Many of the requests for action to ameliorate conditions came from Congressmen who were besieged by their constituents, sometimes from purely selfish motives, but more often in the interest of the community or of the servicemen themselves. The War Department found it difficult to answer these letters meticulously, to be consistent, and to defend the system and the results of its application.

One of its replies contained a carefully worded statement of the efforts being made to overcome the "local shortcomings" of the operations in progress:

Such organizations [of citizens] which find in the large cities a congregating of ex-soldiers and other persons without employment, have, it is believed, erroneously become convinced that this crowding to the larger cities is a fault of the War Department's system of demobilization, and that their proposed scheme of demobilization through the local draft boards would have prevented such crowding. It is believed that this opinion is entirely unjustified. Young men from the farms and rural communities have been taken from their secluded homes and isolated communities and have seen something of the world. The desire of such young men to go to large cities and seek the excitement and distraction there to be found is a fault of human nature that cannot be overcome by legislation or War Department regulation. The fact that discharged soldiers after their discharge go to the large cities is not a fault of the War Department demobilization but has occurred in spite of careful plans taken by the War Department to encourage soldiers to return to their homes.

This phenomenon of persons crowding to the large cities is not confined to the United States, but is occurring in every country that was in the war. At the completion of wars, the tendency has always been shown for soldiers returning from war to flock into the cities. . . .

Another reply to a congressional inquiry contained this understanding paragraph:

Demobilization is inevitably an unpopular process. . . . The eyes of soldiers are turned from contemplation of the country's enemy to provision for their own future, and no man with human sympathies can fail to be moved in their behalf. But for the public official entrusted with the completion of the undertaking it is a time for self-restraint and broad vision, a time to see the larger aspect steadily and to see it whole [National Archives, War Department, Files of Chief of Staff: Letter to Senator McKellar from Secretary of War, February 3, 1919].

During the winter of 1919 the country was faced with a situation which necessitated many modifications of the original procedures for demobilization by military units. Finally, in March, 1919, the War Department published an official statement entitled "The Army Demobilization System Reviewed and Analyzed in Order Better To Acquaint the Public with the Many Difficult Problems Arising." . . .

At that time the country was suffering from an unemployment crisis, resulting from the cancellation of war contracts for goods of no peacetime value. The analysis of the demobilization situation attempted to explain the abrupt discharge of thousands of servicemen in the absence of a well-planned program for their re-employment, in view of the acute industrial situation. . . . The War Department analysis said:

This, then, is the tremendous problem that confronts us—to return to a country whose digestion for labor is not now of the best, hundreds of thousands of men without employment, not forgetting that they and their families deserve the grateful thanks of the Nation, and remaining keenly aware that their patriotism and sacrifice demand that they be given every possible recognition and favor.

As the welfare of the country demanded our entry into the war, and its vigorous prosecution regardless of sacrifices, so does it seem that the welfare of the country at large demands our first consideration in the matter of demobilization. The absorption by the country of these returning men without disorder and without upsetting the economic life of the Nation becomes of paramount importance. The question arises—can the country digest these men best if fed into it in large contingents by discharge in certain restricted areas such as the ports of the Atlantic seaboard, or in small groups, distributed throughout the entire country in such a way that the processes of assimilation can work easily on each small group?

¹ *U.S. Official Bulletin* (Washington), March 24, 1919, p. 6.

Social workers who are concerned about the future transfer of millions of men from the armed services to civilian status will want to read this article.

FUNDS FOR U.N.R.R.A.

AN INITIAL appropriation of \$450,000,000 toward the total United States commitment of \$1,350,000,000 for participation in the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation was requested in a message to Congress on May 4 by the President. It was pointed out that U.N.R.R.A. would need this minimum contribution from the United States to finance advance purchases of supplies to provide for necessary services.

Congress was also asked to authorize the transfer of supplies, services, and funds available under the Lend Lease Act in the amount of \$350,000,000. This sum would be credited toward the total commitment to U.N.R.R.A. promised by the United States.

It was explained in the President's message that the date when U.N.R.R.A. relief operations in liberated areas would begin could "not be determined in advance of impending military developments. . . . The beginning of fuller relief operations by U.N.-R.R.A. may be accompanied by a decline in military and Lend-Lease requirements for operations in the European theatre, making surplus war material available." At such a stage, the President told Congress, "every effort should be made to utilize available stocks of goods held by any department or agency of the Government."

This *Review*¹ has previously noted that Congress had authorized participation of this country in U.N.R.R.A. and had authorized a total contribution of \$1,350,000,000 from the United States, but the appropriation of any substantial part of this fund had been delayed.

The initial appropriation includes \$4,000,000, representing the United States share in U.N.R.R.A.'s administrative expenses for its first year of operation. The appropriation now recommended by the President and the transfer of Lend-Lease

¹ XVIII (March, 1944), 138-39.

supplies will undoubtedly have been given congressional approval before this *Review* appears.

Social workers interested in U.N.R.R.A. will want to read the excellent discussion of its organization and some of its problems in a new number of the "Planning Pamphlets."²

NEW GOALS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH AS WE MOVE FROM WAR TO PEACE

THE Children's Bureau Commission on Children in Wartime, at its meeting in Washington, D.C., late in March, pointed out the need and the challenge of the present situation for the friends of children everywhere. In adopting a series of new "goals" to be reached, it was pointed out that after more than two years of war the families and communities of our nation are being drawn increasingly into total mobilization. In the armed services are hundreds of thousands of fathers. Over five and a half million mothers of children under the age of fourteen years are employed in war plants and service industries. Nearly three million boys and girls under the age of eighteen years are employed, having left school or carrying combined programs of school and work. As they reach eighteen years the boys are subject to induction into the armed forces. Although for many families incomes have risen as a result of war employment, many are now required to readjust to a much lower income level as the fathers enter military service.

The statement issued by the Bureau¹ is briefly summarized below:

The post-war planning now under way must provide for children and youth if victory is to mean opportunity for them to share in building a world based on freedom and justice. We dare not, for them or for our future, risk another generation of transient, idle, frustrated youth, like that of the early years of the depression. Post-

war planning must also provide for maintaining the freedom, integrity, and security of the family. All political parties have an obligation to pledge full support of measures needed to assure to all the children and youth of the Nation at least the minimum opportunities required to equip them to take their part in democracy and in the establishment of peace and justice among the peoples of the world.

In the spirit of the Children's Charter in Wartime adopted 2 years ago, the Commission on Children in Wartime renews its call to the American people to take all needed steps to assure to all children of every race and creed full protection amid the devastation of war, and to take thought for their welfare in the period of transition from war to peace. Specifically, the commission recommends:

I. Extension of health service and medical care to assure access to adequate care for all mothers and children, including the following:

a) Provision of health services for infants and young children through the organization of well-child health centers in every community lacking such facilities, and extension of such service when it is inadequate.

b) Development of adequate health and medical-care programs, including health education for school children and employed youth, with extension of school-lunch and nutrition programs, and enlargement of the crippled children's program to include particularly services for children with rheumatic fever and cardiac conditions in all States.

c) Making available public medical-care or health-insurance programs as needed to assure access to adequate care for all mothers and children.

d) Planning for demobilization of medical and nursing personnel in the armed forces, including appropriate provision for further professional training and placement in areas of need; planning for hospital and health-center construction, with provision of funds necessary for operation; and planning for other measures needed to assure adequate distribution of skilled medical and nursing care and adequate hospital facilities for mothers and children in all parts of the country, urban and rural.

II. Regulating child labor and safeguarding youth in wartime employment; planning now for young workers demobilized from industry and for youth leaving school in the demobilization period; developing policies for the post-war period which will assure protection and educational and employment opportunity to youth. Specifically, these goals include the following:

a) Continued emphasis upon and further implementation of the declared policy of the War Man-

² UNRRA: *Gateway to Recovery*. ("Planning Pamphlets," Nos. 30-31.) 800 Twenty-first St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1944. Pp. 84. \$0.50.

¹ Published in *The Child*, April, 1944.

power Commission to the effect that in most cases youth under 18 can best contribute to the war program by continuing in school.

b) Extension of community programs, developed with the cooperation of management, labor, and the public, for safeguarding youth who are employed in agriculture and in industry on a part-time or full-time basis.

c) Adequate appropriations for full enforcement of Federal and State child-labor laws, with special emphasis upon elimination of child labor under detrimental conditions, for excessive hours, and at night.

d) Planning now for the youth who will be demobilized from industry, through guidance and counseling service; development of educational programs suited to their needs, with student aid as required; retraining and placement in private industry or public employment; broadening opportunities for training through apprenticeship; extending minimum-wage protection for minors; and other youth services as needed.

e) More experiments with guided work-study programs conducted cooperatively by schools, employers, public conservation agencies and camps, to permit youth to experience work appropriate to their age as a planned part of their education.

f) Increased financial support by local, State, and Federal Governments for the further improvement of education without discrimination on account of race, creed, or national origin.

g) Establishment of adequate post-war child-labor and school-attendance standards developed in the light of wartime experience and extending to areas not now fully covered through State child-labor and school-attendance laws and Federal child-labor legislation.

h) Development of policies relating to health, schooling, employment opportunities, and recreation for the post-war period, which will assure to youth opportunity for full development and to the Nation at all times generations of both sexes physically and educationally equipped and morally prepared for whatever service the Nation's safety and welfare may require, whether in peace or in war.

III. Development of community recreation and leisure-time services for young people, with participation in planning and management by youth themselves, including:

a) Full use of school buildings and playgrounds for after-school, vacation, and adult education programs, and extension of school camps.

b) Mobilization of all community recreation resources, with special attention to joint planning by public and private agencies.

c) Development of continuing provision for joint Federal and State services for the stimulation and encouragement of community recreation programs, especially needed in the period of demobilization.

d) Extension of responsibility for planning and management of programs for youth through youth councils and committees, parent councils, and parent-youth community councils.

IV. Safeguarding family life in wartime, during demobilization, and in the post-war period, including:

a) Strengthening and extending special guidance, counseling, and rehabilitation services particularly needed in reestablishing homes disrupted by wartime separations, with due recognition of the spiritual, emotional, and social bases for wholesome family life.

b) Assistance and service to families of men in the armed services facing radical readjustments of income and standards of living.

c) Economic policies designed to encourage production of an abundant supply of goods to meet the needs of families and children, and to provide employment opportunity for all at such wages and under such conditions as will assure an adequate economic basis for family life, with protection against discrimination in employment because of race, creed, or national origin.

d) Extension of the coverage and benefits of social-security programs without residence restrictions.

e) Housing policies and standards directed toward providing every family with decent housing so planned that necessary health, education, recreation, and welfare facilities and services for children are available.

V. Development of State and local public child-welfare programs and the work of private agencies to assure social services to every child whose home conditions or individual difficulties require special attention, including:

a) Extension of child-welfare services, with Federal assistance as needed, to all counties and local areas in all States. Such services should include adequate legal and social protection and care for children whose parents are dead or whose homes are broken, children of illegitimate birth, children who are neglected or delinquent, and children suffering from other social handicaps.

b) Enlargement and improvement of community programs of child care with Federal assistance to State departments of welfare and of education to provide adequate services to children whose mothers are employed.

c) Development of closer relationships between social agencies and schools, health agencies, recreational agencies, courts, and police.

VI. Review and revision of legislative safeguards and standards relating to children in preparation for the 1945 sessions of the legislatures, in the light of these goals for children.

VII. Sharing of the public responsibility for the health, education, and welfare of children by Federal, State, and local authorities, with recognition of the primary responsibility of the State and local units, and the importance of providing Federal funds for local services through grants-in-aid to appropriate State agencies, and with the removal of residence restrictions in the selection of personnel for such programs.

VIII. Provision for the training of professional personnel required for services for children and youth and for the preparation of volunteers to assist in rendering such services.

IX. Increased opportunities for youth to share in the planning and development of programs—local, State, National, and international—for the benefit of youth.

X. Education of parents, youth, and all citizens concerning the importance of providing full security and opportunity for children for the sake of their own happiness and well-being and for the future of the Nation.

The realization of these goals will require the highest order of leadership, substantial sacrifice, and a sustained and coordinated effort on the part of all groups throughout the Nation.

CHILD LABOR PROVISIONS ENFORCED UNDER FAIR LABOR STANDARDS ACT

FRIENDS of children have been encouraged by a recent decision of the United States Supreme Court that may bring the children employed in newspaper distribution under the child labor laws. Under this decision, *National Labor Relations Board v. Hearst Publications, Inc., et al.* (U.S. Law Week, April 24, 1944, p. 4315), the newsboy is no longer necessarily a "partner in the business" but may be an employee, in which case he is protected by the child labor laws as to age, hours, and conditions of work. Child welfare workers will find themselves reassured by our highest court in this important case. The defendants in this case were four Los Angeles newspapers; and by its decision the Supreme Court reversed a ruling of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. There was only one dissenting opinion—that of Justice Roberts.

Another reassuring decision by one of the higher federal courts, *Lenroot, Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau v. Western Union Telegraph Co.* (52. F. Supp. 142; District Court, S.D. New York, October 7, 1943; judgment affirmed March 3, 1944) has held that messengers employed by the Western Union Telegraph Company are covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. The Children's Bureau has maintained since the act first became effective more than five years ago that telegraph messengers were working in interstate commerce. But this interpretation was not accepted by the Western Union, and the Children's Bureau brought an action against the company in August, 1942, for employing messengers under sixteen years of age. The United States District Court upheld the Children's Bureau in October, 1943, ruling that messengers were engaged in production for interstate commerce. This ruling, now upheld by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, following an appeal by the Western Union, is very encouraging to friends of children. According to a survey introduced in the proceedings, the messengers under sixteen who will be affected constitute 11 per cent of the messengers employed by the Western Union. A smaller group, sixteen to eighteen years of age, employed as operators of motor vehicles, will also be brought under the child labor provisions of the federal act by the ruling, since the operation of motor vehicles has been declared a hazardous occupation by the Children's Bureau.

Although these opinions are very encouraging, the general situation with regard to child labor continues to be serious. The United States Children's Bureau with the Wage and Hour Division of the United States Department of Labor is charged with the enforcement of the child labor provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act. This act protects children (1) by establishing a sixteen-year minimum for employment in industries engaged in interstate commerce, with certain exceptions for the fourteen-to-sixteen-year age group for employment outside of school hours, under

conditions set by the Children's Bureau; (2) by establishing an eighteen-year minimum for occupations found to be hazardous.

The Children's Bureau administers the act with its competent staff of inspectors and regional consultants who assist the inspectors of the Wage and Hour Division of the Labor Department in their inspections covering child labor.

Reviewing the five years of federal child labor enforcement,¹ the Bureau notes that the majority of employers wish to obey the law and in most cases a warning against further violations is all that is necessary.

TABLE 1

| FISCAL YEAR | PERCENTAGE OF ESTABLISHMENTS INSPECTED FOUND VIOLATING ACT | NUMBER OF | |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | | Establishments Found Violating Act | Minors Found Illegally Employed* |
| 1939-40..... | 16 | 308 | 1,329 |
| 1940-41..... | 26 | 579 | 1,761 |
| 1941-42..... | 41 | 1,294 | 4,083 |
| 1942-43..... | 48 | 1,722 | 4,567 |
| 1943-44 (6 months)... | 45 | 1,308 | 3,658 |

* Includes also violations found by Wage and Hour Division.

However, the Bureau has not hesitated to prosecute employers who are apparently willing to take the risk involved in employing children illegally or who in violating the act have shown negligence or careless disregard for its requirements.

As the Children's Bureau and the National Child Labor Committee have repeatedly pointed out, the child labor situation has become very serious as a result of the war. Each year since the beginning of the war the number of establishments found violating the federal act and the number of minors found illegally employed have both increased steadily, as is shown in Table I.

It has also been found (see Table 2) that of the children found illegally employed a

large number are under fourteen years, some as young as eight.

But, in spite of the increase in the number of children at work and in the number of violations of the federal act, there has been a decrease in the Children's Bureau appropriation for administration and enforcement. Fortunately, the amount recom-

TABLE 2

| FISCAL YEAR | CHILDREN ILLEGALLY EMPLOYED | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Under 14 | 14 and 15 | 16 and 17 |
| 1939-40..... | 334 | 1,021 | 16 |
| 1940-41..... | 510 | 1,117 | 114 |
| 1941-42..... | 1,272 | 2,038 | 683 |
| 1942-43..... | 800 | 2,668 | 1,099 |
| 1943-44 (6 months) | 262 | 2,645 | 751 |

TABLE 3

| Fiscal Year | Appropriations for Child Labor Law Enforcement* | No. of Minors 14-17 Yrs. Inclusive at Work† | Per Capita for Minors at Work |
|-----------------------|---|---|-------------------------------|
| 1939-40..... | \$312,720 | 1,000,000 | 31 cents |
| 1940-41..... | 288,000 | 1,500,000 | 19 |
| 1941-42..... | 279,623 | 1,500,000 | 19 |
| 1942-43..... | 251,660 | 2,250,000 | 11 |
| 1943-44..... | 225,000 | 2,750,000 | 08 |
| Proposed 1944-45..... | 369,222 | 2,750,000 | 14 |

* In addition, a small sum from the Children's Bureau general appropriation has been available for fact-finding, advisory, and reporting services in child labor. An increase of \$39,540 in this item is also included in the proposed budget.

† This includes both full- and part-time workers. Thousands of children under fourteen are also employed, but their number is unknown.

mended in the budget for 1944-45 (omitting an estimate for overtime) was \$369,222—an increase of \$144,222 over the amount appropriated for 1943-44—but Congress had not approved this increase when we went to press.

Representatives of twenty-seven national organizations joined with the National Child Labor Committee in a statement sent to the subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee and to the press urging

¹ See *The Child*, VIII, 83-92.

the importance of granting the increased appropriation.

In the face of a grave wartime demand for young workers since 1940, Table 3² shows that, in spite of a rise of 175 per cent in the number employed and of 459 per cent in the number of firms found violating the federal law, the funds available to the Children's Bureau to prevent the illegal employment of children have been going down.

The *American Federationist* (March, 1944) notes that

a very disturbing consequence of the employment of children is reported by New York. In that state there has been an increase in the average amount paid under workmen's compensation. The number of awards declined, but the total amount and the average award increased. The cause was the penalty awards made in the case of injured minors illegally employed. In 1943 this penalty accounted for two-thirds of the total amount; in 1942 it was a trifle more than one-third, and in 1941 it was less than one-fifth.

There is no social security for children who are deprived of their right to education by being illegally employed.

SALARIES IN CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES

A REPORT¹ of the Russell Sage Foundation on the recent trend in salaries of child welfare workers supplements the study in this field which was made in 1941 under the same auspices. Everyone in social work today knows that salaries are higher now than they were in 1941 and that these higher salaries are paid to workers from whom less is required in professional preparation. The agencies have increased salaries, in order to hold present staff, to attract new staff, and to some extent to meet the rise in the cost of living. The demand for case

workers cannot be met by the qualified workers who are now available, and as a result persons without training and experience are accepted as beginning workers. Apprenticeship is reappearing in private children's agencies, while there is a strong trend in public agencies toward the employment of college graduates without professional training. In an important number of instances some provision is being made for current or later attendance of untrained workers at a school of social work.

There were 337 vacant case-work positions in 86 private agencies and 22 public agencies. More than half (57 per cent) of the agencies would employ only applicants who had completed a course in a school of social work or received a degree; 23 per cent were satisfied if the applicant had had one year of professional training; and 20 per cent required one quarter or less of graduate work. The public agencies were more ready to accept applicants with little training. About one-half of the specifications required no experience. For completed school of social work training and two years of experience the median salary offered by the private agencies in 16 salary specifications was \$2,070; \$2,000 was the median salary for full training and one year of experience. For one year only of both training and experience the median salary was \$1,800, and this dropped to \$1,600 for one year of training and no experience. For college graduates without professional training or experience the salaries ranged from \$1,320 to \$1,500 and rose from \$1,400 to \$1,560 when one year of experience was required. The typical offering salary for full social work training and no experience was \$1,800; the median salary in 1941 was \$1,620.

The qualifications for the position of supervisor of case work have not been so much changed. In private agencies 17 out of 18 positions required persons with full graduate school of social work training, though the requirement for experience ranged from one and one-half to six years in a similar position. The median salary was \$2,800; in 1941 the median had been \$2,400.

² Tables 1-3 have been adapted from *The American Child*, April, 1944.

¹ Ralph G. Hurlin, *The Recent Trend of Salaries in Child Welfare Agencies*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1944. Pp. 14. \$0.25. The editor of the *Review* is indebted to Carol Goldstein, field-work supervisor in the School of Social Service Administration, for the material in this note.

Slightly more than 40 per cent of the reporting agencies had lowered their standards; and agencies that were unwilling to lower their standards were also unable to fill their vacant positions. A substantial number of private agencies had accepted beginning workers without training and experience, designating them as aides, apprentices, workers in training, or junior workers. A few agencies reported definite plans for recruiting as well as for training apprentice workers. One large agency had established a ratio of one untrained worker to four trained workers. Several public agencies reported a new and similar category for beginning workers as aides or junior workers. One state agency was considering a requirement of senior college standing and no experience for the position of "trainee."

Several private agencies thought the bottleneck was in the limited enrolment of the professional schools. One private agency explained that scholarship students who were committed to accepting employment in a state agency or in the Red Cross were so large a part of the small enrolment of the school of social work in its region that the prospect was dismal of obtaining any candidates for its positions from this source.

The study includes only the member agencies or the affiliates of the Child Welfare League of America; but this is a representative group, and what is happening to them is happening among other agencies in this field and in other fields of social work. How to interest untrained employed people in securing professional training and how to make that training attractive and available to them are problems that demand the attention of all social workers.

FEDERAL GRANTS FOR VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

FOLLOWING the long-time policy of the *Social Service Review*, no review will appear in these pages of one of the new social service monographs published by the School of Social Service Administration. This new and timely monograph on *Federal Grants for Vocational Rehabilitation*, by Dr. Mary E. Macdonald, research associate in the School

of Social Service Administration, deals with the history of federal legislation, federal administration, and state administrative organization for vocational rehabilitation, with a very helpful discussion of such questions as eligibility, rehabilitation procedures, and the scope of the rehabilitation services. A valuable section is added dealing with recent developments, especially the Act of 1943. There is a useful Bibliography.

A NEW MONTHLY REVIEW

WITH the current number (June, 1944) the first volume of the *Monthly Review*, issued by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, will be complete. The *Social Service Review* wishes to express the appreciation of all social workers who are interested in immigration problems for this new and very useful publication.¹

Material over a wide field has been included in the *Monthly Review* with summaries of recent decisions by the courts in immigration and naturalization cases, recent decisions of the Board of Immigration Appeals, current bibliographies, official interpretations of naturalization and immigration procedures, and information of many kinds about the current problems of immigration and naturalization. Marian Schibbsby, formerly of the Foreign Language Information Service, is the editor of the new *Review*, and it is to be hoped that the publication of this useful monthly magazine will be continued.

THE GRACE ABBOTT FELLOWSHIP IN PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

AWARD BY THE DELTA GAMMA FRATERNITY

THE 1944-45 award of the Grace Abbott Fellowship of \$1,000 for a year of professional study in an accredited school of social work has been announced by the chairman of the committee, Mrs. Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Washington, D.C., and Grand Rapids, Michigan. The Fellowship

¹ *Monthly Review*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-12. Subscription price, \$1.00 a year; 10 cents per copy. Washington, D.C.: *Monthly Review*, Department of Justice.

for 1944-45 has been granted to Ruth Margaret Werner, of the Division of Child Welfare, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, where she is now in charge of in-service training. Her earlier experience included two years, 1934-36, as a case worker in the St. Louis Relief Administration, and since 1936 she has been in the Child Welfare Services of Wisconsin, first in county work and later in the state department. Miss Werner is a graduate of the University of Wisconsin and has had some graduate professional work in Chicago.

The committee had the assistance of Mildred Arnold, head of the Child Welfare Services Division of the United States Children's Bureau, and of Miss Agnes Van Driel, head of the Division of Training of the Public Assistance Bureau of the Social Security Board, both of whom, as in previous years, served as consultants for the committee.

The committee at the same time announced that the fellowship will again be offered for the academic year 1945-46, in honor of the public services of Grace Abbott, who was a member of Delta Gamma at the University of Nebraska. The fellowship is open to any woman graduate of an accredited American college or university and may be used at any accredited school of social work; but it is restricted to candidates who have been employed in the public welfare services and who plan to return to the public services. The fellowship will again be awarded in May, 1945. A further announcement about the 1945-46 fellowship will be made in the early autumn of the current year. The corresponding secretary of the committee is Mrs. Florence H. Blanchard, 2573 Van Dorn Street, Lincoln, Nebraska.

IN MEMORIAM

PIERCE ATWATER

1896-1944

THE sudden death of Pierce Atwater was a great shock to his many friends and associates in different parts of the country. He was one of the most promising men in

the group of younger executives holding important posts, who it was hoped would carry on for the long future. Not only was he widely known through his services for such national associations as the American Association of Social Workers and the National Conference of Social Work, but he had given service to various other national organizations. He had been a field representative of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the worst depression years, he was a member of the White House Conference of 1940, and he was one of the liberal leaders on the board of directors of the National Association of Community Chests and Councils.

Chicago felt that Pierce Atwater belonged to us in a special way, although he became a Chicago executive only four years ago. When he served as executive secretary of the Wichita, Kansas, Community Chest, he was asked by the Local Community Research Committee of the University of Chicago to serve on a joint committee which the University group had established with the National Association of Community Chests and Councils. This committee was organized to work out a practical plan for the registration of social statistics; it was an attempt to develop a new method of providing accurate current data showing the activities of private and public social agencies. Pierce Atwater came to the University of Chicago regularly for the meetings of the committee and proved to be one of its most helpful members. After the "social statistics project" was taken over by the United States Children's Bureau in 1929, he was asked by the bureau to give continuing service in an advisory capacity to the bureau.

He was interested in professional education. He was a lecturer in the University of Chicago School of Social Service Administration, and while he was in St. Paul he taught in the University of Minnesota Curriculum in Social Work. He was well liked as a teacher, and he conducted numerous institutes at various state conferences. His textbook on *Administration of*

Social Agencies has been used in different schools of social work.

He was interested in the public services as well as in private social work. When he served as the field representative for the old F.E.R.A., his territory covered Minnesota, Iowa, the two Dakotas, and Nebraska. One of the things in his professional career in which he was most interested was the drawing-up of the State Welfare Act of North Dakota while he was with the F.E.R.A.

Pierce Atwater was one of the prominent Community Chest executives closely identified with social work and social workers rather than with the business group; and when he was in Wichita he was elected president of the Kansas State Conference of Social Work. When he became director of the Community Chest in St. Paul, Minnesota, he showed the same interest in broad social welfare activities. He was president of the Twin Cities Chapter of the A.A.S.W., a member of the executive committee of the Minnesota State Conference of Social Work, and chairman of the special committee that developed the very successful regional plan of organization of the Minnesota State Conference.

Prominent in the meetings of the National Conference of Social Work, he had served as a member of the executive committee and as vice-president and more than once as chairman of the Community Organization Section of the Conference. He was very active in the A.A.S.W., serving as first vice-president of the national association in 1940-42. Many of his old friends remember gratefully his wise and helpful counsel at a time when controversies regarding the association were widespread. At the controversial sessions of the Delegate Conference in Philadelphia in 1940, Pierce was the outstanding delegate, respected by both sides. He was trusted because he had a fair, unprejudiced point of view that could see both sides of a question. He had what is sometimes called the "judicial mind." Both contending groups in a very acrimonious debate believed in his honest and generous attitude toward the questions at issue. Pierce

Atwater can ill be spared from the ranks of social workers.

A member of the board of directors of the Community Chests and Councils, Inc., and a member of the cabinet of the National War Fund, he served as chairman of the Great Lakes Institute for the regional Community Chests and Councils. After he came to Chicago, he served as a member of the board of directors of the Council of Social Agencies of Chicago and was soon elected a member of the executive committee of the Chicago Chapter of the A.A.S.W. He was prime mover, organizer, and a member of the board of directors of the Illinois State War Chest.

It is not possible here to show adequately the wide range of his interests and his activities or the positions held which testified to the affectionate confidence in which he was held by social workers. He was tireless in giving his services over wide areas. He was, for example, the principal speaker and discussion leader at the Pacific Coast Regional Conference of Community Chests and Councils, in Portland, Oregon, in 1942; and he made a social survey for the Community Chests and Council of Social Agencies of Houston, Texas.

The last services in memory of Pierce Atwater, held in Bond Chapel at the University of Chicago, were attended not only by social workers from Chicago but by old friends and associates who came from Minnesota, from New York, from Philadelphia, representing national agencies. The brief statement made at this time by Ellsworth Roberts, national president of Community Chests and Councils, who is president of an insurance company in the East, is quoted in part because it shows that not only social workers but the national group of important business officials with whom he had been so long associated respected him, admired him, and believed in him. Mr. Roberts in recalling their long association said:

The national Community Chests and Councils owes its being and its stature to such men of vision as Pierce, who, with others of the elder statesmen in social work, set it in motion and

insisted on its giving a high quality of performance.

Pierce bulked large in the counsels of this association wherein national policy and action are determined. He encouraged its operations and served as a member of its board and as chairman of its most significant committees over a long period of years.

My own association with Pierce was most intimate and cordial. It was he who first interested me in doing anything for someone else. It gives me great satisfaction that I said so in his company as we sat together in this city earlier this month.

From knowledge peculiarly my own, Pierce was not motivated by monetary considerations and left no job unfinished or at loose ends. He reached the peak of accomplishment in the field in which he was universally respected, and his loss is very real in a time when we need to husband every resource in leadership.

Pierce was able to think, and he was willing to do so. The simplicity of this observation seems a trifle disarming, but it was this quality which made him a master tactician in his relations with all people. He had vision, forthrightness, courage, and energy. He will be sorely missed in the national sphere where he gave such signal service and where I counted him my finest friend and adviser.

Large numbers of social workers in different parts of the country will join with the editors of the *Social Service Review* in our appreciation of his help in carrying on the finest traditions of our profession.

WALTER MCGUINN

1898-1944

A LARGE number of social workers, particularly those associated with the professional schools, were saddened by the news of the death of the Rev. Walter McGuinn, S.J., who was the founder in 1936 and dean of the Boston School of Social Work. Father McGuinn was born at Worcester, Massachusetts, and was a graduate of Holy Cross College and held the Ph.D. degree from Fordham University. Most recently he had been on leave of absence from Boston College, serving as vice-chairman of the New England War Labor Board. He had re-

cently resigned this position because of ill-health, and he died April 1 of a heart attack at the Massachusetts General Hospital.

Workers in local, state, and national agencies have had many occasions for association with Father McGuinn. He was a member of several national committees, such as the Special Committee on Training and Personnel, which serves in an advisory capacity to the United States Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Board. He was also a very useful member of the Advisory Committee on Pan-American Relations of the U.S. Children's Bureau.

Through Boston College he became an active member of the American Association of Schools of Social Work and was treasurer of the association. He served as a member of several committees of the National Conference of Catholic Charities and also was a member of several committees of the National Conference of Social Work. In his *Professional Secret in Social Work* he set forth his belief that the field of social work should be related in terms of ethics to the field of practice.

Members of the faculties of the professional schools who had served with Father McGuinn on different committees had come to know him well and to value his sincere and intelligent interest in professional education and his wise counsel over a broad field. He will be greatly missed, not only by his associates in Boston and other parts of New England, but by social workers and educators in many parts of the country.

EMIL G. STEGER

1886-1944

BEGINNING with his service as a Red Cross secretary during the first World War, Emil G. Steger, director of the Social Planning Council, St. Louis, Missouri, had held various important positions in social work. He went to St. Louis in 1923 from St. Paul, where he had been executive secretary of the United Charities. He was general

manager of the St. Louis Provident Association before he became, in 1932, the director of the combined Community Fund, Community Council, and United Charities. In 1935, when these agencies were divided, Mr. Steger continued as director of the Community Fund until 1939, when he took charge of the Social Planning Council. He had recently been active in the organization of health and welfare services of the Office of Civilian Defense. He was the first chairman of the St. Louis Chapter of the A.A.S.-W., he was also well known in the National

Conference of Social Work, and he had done some teaching at the Washington University Department of Social Work.

An editorial in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* said of Mr. Steger: "Service to the community cannot be measured by ordinary standards. It is in the regard in which the server is held, and the satisfaction of having made the community a better place in which to live, that those who devote their lives to public service find their reward. By these standards Emil G. Steger's life work was a success."

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BOOK REVIEWS

War and the Law. Edited by ERNST W. PUTTKAMMER. ("Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures.") Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944. Pp. vii+205. \$2.00.

A book of this sort is difficult to review. It consists of nine lectures delivered under the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago during the academic year 1942-43. In the order in which they appear here, the lectures are: "World War II and Legal Trends," by Dean Wilber G. Katz; "Civil Liberties in Wartime," by Professor Kenneth C. Sears; "Alien Enemies and Alien Friends," by Professor Ernst W. Puttkammer; "The Armed Forces and the Civilian Population," by Professor Max Rheinstein; "Law and Labor Relations in Wartime," by Professor Charles O. Gregory; "International Cartels and the War," by Professor Edward H. Levi; "Wartime Price Control," by Professor George F. James; "Military Justice," by Professor Max Rheinstein; and "War and the Rule of Law," by Professor Mortimer J. Adler. Any one of these nine subjects might well be dealt with in an entire book—indeed, more than one book has been written on every one of them. Merely to set forth adequately what each of the distinguished speakers has to say on his allotted topic would go far beyond the space any review could reasonably claim.

The book begins with a brief—almost prefatory—discussion by Dean Katz of the need of modifying our legal education. It is a need of which we have long been conscious, and it has elicited a great deal of active effort at reform in which Dean Katz has himself been an accredited leader.

The war has put our deficiencies into sharp relief. Law and its study are included in no list, submitted to Selective Service boards, of essential activities which must at all costs be maintained. On the contrary, we are given sharply to understand that we are the most dispensable of professions. Perhaps the "trend" which Dean Katz includes in his title leads in a direction that will change this fact. As soon as it becomes apparent that the subject matter of law is nothing more nor less than all of human life—practical, intellectual, and spiritual—we may break

the hold which the quasi-monastic tradition of the Inns of Court still has on our minds. It will clearly not be the fault of Dean Katz and most of his associates if this turns out not to be so.

These lectures were delivered in 1942-43. In the year that has elapsed since the latest of them, more advanced phases of some of the acute questions discussed here have been presented to the courts. The questions created by the evacuation of Japanese from the West Coast, which Professor Rheinstein discusses in the first of the two lectures he contributes, will soon be more fully examined in the Endo and Koremutsu cases now in various stages of progress to the Supreme Court. The essential question is, of course, a double one: What degree of military necessity will justify a discrimination between citizens on the basis of racial or national origin, and who shall have the final word in deciding when the degree has been reached? The first half of our question cannot be precisely answered. Much must be left to military judgment, but certainly not everything. And clearly, even more than in other conflicts of authority, it is the civilian court that must make the last decision. What is important is that the civilian judgment ought to be an independent one and not merely a certification that the military authorities acted in good faith. The court cannot avoid the task of determining for itself how urgent and pressing the military need was, and it is not likely to seek to avoid it.

Similarly, the case of Zimmerman, decided in 1942 by the Ninth Circuit (p. 80, n. 42), is before the courts again. If we accept the majority view that in 1942 conditions in Hawaii warranted the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, it is still open to inquire whether the court or the military authority may determine when this situation has come to an end. An unedifying exchange of outbursts of temper between the federal judge and the commanding general has not aided the proper examination of the question. The dissenting opinion of Justice Haney in the Zimmerman case (137 F. [2d] 442) contains a lengthy discussion of "martial law" under the Constitution. It deserves reading whether we agree with Justice Haney's conclu-

sions or not. At any rate, the statement of the majority, cited by Professor Rheininstein, that "the civil courts are ill adapted to cope with an emergency of this kind" seems to misstate the question. What the civil courts are asked to cope with is whether or not an emergency of this kind—one created by a state of war—exists, how much of ordinary judicial process must be suspended, and when the emergency ends. The court is quite well adapted to cope with that inquiry.

The lecture of Professor Sears deals with that other difficult problem which was so grievously mishandled during and after World War I. In reviewing some of the recent cases, Professor Sears comes to the conclusion (p. 36) that the majority of the Supreme Court in the *Bridges* case—he somewhat invidiously calls it the "New Deal Court"—"has abandoned the clear-and-present-danger test." I do not so read the decision. On the contrary, I find that the test not only is reaffirmed in *Bridges v. California* (314 U.S. 252) but is sharpened to the extent of saying that the danger must be very clear indeed and quite imminently present to justify an abridgment of free speech, even when that speech is a contempt of court.

But in the case involving the Socialist Workers Union, under the Smith sedition act (p. 30, n. 21), the Eighth Circuit Court did seem to disregard the clear-and-present-danger test, although under the compulsion of a specific statute (138 F. [2d] 137, decided September 20, 1943). The Supreme Court refused certiorari, which makes final the conviction of the twelve men found guilty. These men were extreme Leftists. A wholly different group, more or less avowedly Fascist in sympathies, are now on trial under the same act, in the case of *United States v. McWilliams et al.* Although the defendants in the former suit found the press and public coldly unsympathetic—except for members of the American Civil Liberties Union—the Fascist ladies and gentlemen enjoy a large press support and have received the compassion and countenance of some members of Congress.

I think the Department of Justice has a right to feel that they have trod a path closer to the line of American traditions than was done in the unfortunate days of 1916-22. It is not quite a fact that even the prosecutions of the persons whom Professor Sears discreetly calls A, B, C, and so forth, were or are for "mere utterance." Utterance which is designed to result in illegal acts, and which is imminently likely to do so, is

not mere utterance; and it was never asserted by the most vigorous libertarians that utterance of this sort is to be quite unrestricted. There is a tendency to confuse the treatment of words which are unqualified incitements to action with words that express opinion. Opinions, even detestable ones, are free. Some European refugees have declared—one is quoted by Professor Sears (p. 17)—that suppression of free speech in Germany and France before the triumph of Hitler and his Quislings might have prevented that triumph. It is more than doubtful. But, even if the moral *dégringolade* of Germany was actively assisted by utterance of mere opinions, we must remember that what are called "inflammatory speeches" are not taken as seriously by Americans and Englishmen as they might be on the Continent. We had best abide by the looseness of liberty, which Professor Chafee properly finds is particularly admirable and characteristic of Americans.

Of the other lectures I shall advert only to Professor Levi's discussion of international cartels (pp. 117-42). Most of the lectures in this little book are expository, although none fails to indicate a definite opinion. But Professor Levi's paper is a grim polemic, expressed with vigor and relieved by irony. He presents a problem which the war has shown to be one of national safety, if not of national survival—the problem of international monopoly, for which the term "cartel" has become the modern word-symbol.

Monopoly is no new problem in economic and political history, especially in England and the United States. Nor, indeed, is international monopoly new. The first movements against monopoly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had to consider the alliance of English monopolists with foreign groups to prevent the growth of those industries in England which imperiled monopoly control. The modern background is, however, wholly different. Professor Levi shows us the growth of great economic empires, which in the Middle Ages would, like the Hansa guilds, have at least assumed the responsibilities of states. The modern counterparts assume no such responsibility, but they effectively apportion the resources of the world among themselves in a fashion that cuts through the lines of national states and ignores the interests of peoples as well as of individuals.

Professor Levi is concerned chiefly with Standard Oil, with I.G. Farben, with Du Pont, with Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd. (I.C.I.). He speaks by the book, which is, in this

case, the hearings before the Senate Committee on Patents in 1942. Most of the material that has become available more recently, especially through the heated apologetics of the groups involved, has confirmed the pattern Professor Levi sets out and has emphasized its dangers. Mr. Corwin Edwards' pamphlet, Mr. Walton Hamilton's contribution to the T.N.E.C.'s report, the report of the Kilgore committee—all these give new data and a further analysis.

In Germany, Belgium, and France cartels have always been lawful. We have attempted to outlaw them by means of the Sherman Act, a law which Justice Holmes thought was silly but which, nonetheless, for all its inadequacies, has proved a reasonably efficient instrument to call attention to the situation. To remedy it, new legislation is imperative; but, above all, we need some corrective for the bedeviling of public opinion by men who curiously enough use the symbolic phrase "free enterprise" in the pursuit of a policy which not merely checks all uncarterized enterprise but seeks to harness the inventive talents of future generations.

Each of the other lectures deserves equally full comment. I omit them because of lack of space. They should help destroy the mischievous doctrine that war suspends the Constitution. The state of war creates many new types of procedure and modifies many standards of legal judgment, just as the railroads did and the growth of huge industries and huger cities. The postwar adjustment will do the same. One idea—I should like to call it "the essentially constitutional idea"—has remained unaffected. When citizens are required to submit their lives, their liberties, and their property to the furtherance of an existing war or the prevention of a future one, every detail of that submission must be explicitly justified; and the final decision upon whether or not the submission is in fact justified must not rest with those who demand it.

MAX RADIN

*School of Jurisprudence
University of California*

Organization of American Relief in Europe, 1918-1919. Documents selected and edited by SUDA LORENA BANE and RALPH HASWELL LUTZ. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1943. Pp. xxi+745. \$6.00.

The documents—nearly four hundred in all—reproduced in and comprising this volume

were taken from the files of the Hoover Library on War, Revolution, and Peace, at Stanford University. Miss Bane, one of the editors, is archivist and research associate of the library, and Dr. Lutz is the director of the library and professor of history at Stanford.

Because of the current widespread interest in foreign relief plans, one must be grateful to the editors for bringing together in small compass important documents relating to the work of the American Relief Administration (A.R.A.) and its Children's Relief Bureau, the Allied Railway and Coal Missions, the European Children's Fund (E.C.F.), and related agencies. The documents are carefully and helpfully edited, arranged, and indexed. One simple but useful device is the insertion—as a subtitle to each document—of the name of the original writer and that of the person to whom the document was first addressed.

While touching upon many aspects of the programs of various agencies, this volume covers only the years 1918-19. As a result, activities of the A.R.A. and E.C.F. after this period are not reported here.

In reading these documents it is important to recall that in A.R.A. terminology the words "relief supplies" had a somewhat different meaning from that usually accorded them, since they included not only such commodities as were given gratis but also supplies that were sold for cash or were advanced on credit. This fact is made clear in one of Mr. Hoover's own memoranda in which operations of the Grain Corporation (which did much of the provisioning that was undertaken) are spoken of as being "in no sense a relief operation but purely a commercial operation in the promotion of the sale of American commodities pending the re-establishment of trade." One of the fundamental purposes of these operations was, of course, to protect American farmers and the Grain Corporation from losses that might have occurred if the prices of wheat and pork products in the United States had been allowed to fall sharply after the signing of the Armistice.

A cardinal principle of Mr. Hoover's administration which, in view of plans now being made for the relief of liberated areas, has more than passing interest, was his insistence that in the control of American food surpluses the United States "should maintain a complete independence." Such independence, wrote Mr. Hoover, permitted the United States to "confer favours instead of complying with agreements."

One clear impression gained from reading this collection is that, although the United States and the Allies had not previously agreed upon methods of administering and financing civilian relief, Mr. Hoover acted with dispatch in making surplus American wheat available to Europe, thus alleviating a vast amount of suffering.

The entire volume gives one renewed respect for the boldness and imagination demonstrated by Mr. Hoover as he shouldered the many diverse, vast, and complex tasks that fell to him and for the way in which various agencies (particularly the A.R.A., the Grain Corporation, the Army, the Navy, and the Treasury) of the United States government worked together in carrying needed help to war-stricken Europe. Whatever may have been left undone, it is indisputable that incalculable good was done for millions whose sufferings might have been unnecessarily prolonged had the A.R.A. not gone to their aid.

DONALD S. HOWARD

*Russell Sage Foundation
New York City*

The Rights of Infants: Early Psychological Needs and Their Satisfaction. By MARGARET A. RIBBLE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. xii+112. \$1.75.

For the last eight years Dr. Ribble has been studying the behavior of babies. Her extensive experience has given her a unique knowledge of the physiological and psychological needs of infants and of the close relationship between the two. In this little book she presents the distillate of her experience. The author's main thesis can be summed up in a few words: Complete instinctual satisfaction during infancy produces a feeling of security, which, in turn, enables the baby to grow up self-controlled and independent. The success of this process depends entirely on the mother. It is she who must satisfy her baby's needs, but she must also modify her behavior at the proper times in order that he may develop into an independent human being.

Dr. Ribble emphasizes over and over the early symbiotic relationship between a mother and her baby. The process of birth, which suddenly separates the baby from his mother, calls forth tremendous changes in his physical economy to enable him to accommodate to his new environment. Newborn infants show marked

inadequacy in the breathing, circulatory, and sucking mechanisms, and their sleep is more like the semicoma of intra-uterine existence than like true sleep. Stimulation of all these physical functions is necessary in order that they may develop adequately. Dr. Ribble believes that the baby should sleep beside his mother's bed during the first few days of life in order that she may immediately allay any unpleasant tension that arises. The mother helps her baby in many ways. Every contact with her stimulates in the baby these basic physiological processes and thereby promotes mental and emotional growth. The following are some of the ways in which the mother aids her infant: bodily contact during fondling, rocking, and bathing; allowing the baby to kick freely; permitting him to cry a little (this stimulates the breathing mechanism); feeding him at the breast; and helping him to learn to suck through stimulating his mouth with her nipple. The author states that 40 per cent of newborn infants have to be taught to suck. The baby's physical economy is not well stabilized until the third month.

The contact between mother and baby is also an interpersonal relationship from the start. By stimulating the baby through satisfying his physical needs, the mother creates a sense of security which provides the basis of the child's feelings for himself and for other people. By the fourth month the baby begins to recognize his mother as a person, and her care is now important for his social life. He models his relations to other people upon her treatment of him. Continuity of care by one person is vital for the infant's welfare throughout the first year. Any change of routine, changes in the mother's emotional state, and, particularly, being taken care of by another person produce immediate physical and psychological disturbances in the young infant.

The author places much emphasis on the importance of adequate sucking. Not only does sucking have both pleasure and interpersonal values, but good sucking produces deep breathing, greater circulatory activity, relaxation, and restful sleep. A baby who is fed by medicine dropper breathes irregularly, sleeps poorly, and has a good deal of muscular tension. Later he may show retardation in speech. Conversely, sucking on a dry nipple will put a newborn infant to sleep. Sucking is the baby's panacea for all tensions, and breast feeding is his best prophylaxis against anxiety. The author has ob-

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served that if a baby sucks for less than two hours a day or for less than twenty minutes per meal, he invariably becomes a finger-sucker. In general, on a three-hour schedule most babies are quieter than they are on a four-hour schedule. The feeding schedule, like all treatment of the newborn, should be adjusted to the infant's needs. Sucking is most intense up to the fourth month, when it decreases as vocalization, biting, and grasping reactions begin. The daily bath is beneficial to the child because it stimulates circulation, breathing, and the sense of touch. The baby takes pleasure in being handled, but he must be firmly held or else he becomes anxious. Young animals sicken and die if they are not licked by the mother. Infants should be rocked and sung to before they go to sleep. Giving security in this way acts as a preventive against thumb-sucking. In the chapter entitled "Getting Ready To Think," Dr. Ribble emphasizes the close relationship between the child's early sensory experiences (sucking, bathing, rocking, etc.), and the development of memory, thought, and speech.

The chapter on "Elimination" contains a warning against too early or too strict toilet training. Toilet training should begin only after the child can speak a little—that is, at about the age of ten months. Frequent diapering and vigorous nose-cleaning are bad for the infant; the one focuses his attention on excretory processes, and the other is an unpleasant stimulus from which he recoils. Six changes of diapers per day are enough for any infant, according to Dr. Ribble. This reviewer's only criticism of this excellent book relates to this particular chapter. What is said is excellent, but the chapter is much too short. Our present civilization so overestimates cleanliness at the expense of mental health that more vigorous warnings must be given than the author provides. Though many of the chapters are illustrated with excellent case histories, no examples are provided to show the harmful effects of faulty toilet training. It is hoped that this omission will be corrected in a later edition.

"Mothering" is the term which the author uses to indicate the various ways in which the mother stimulates her baby. Inadequate mothering produces either neurotic or physical symptoms, depending on the age of the child, or else a general disorganization in the tempo and evenness of development. Sudden separation from the mother before the age of three months

causes a gradual regression toward the fetal state in breathing, circulation, sleep, and general behavior. The baby sucks less vigorously, and his intake of food may become so inadequate that a profound state of malnutrition develops. Sleep or coma may then become a defense which the infant utilizes to protect himself against tension. The author has seen mis-handled infants who reacted to the offer of food by going to sleep. After the third month, if the child's interest cannot go to the mother, it reverts to the self, and such symptoms as thumb-sucking, head-rolling, crying, humming, or masturbation occur. The treatment for all these conditions in infants is more fondling, rocking, bathing, or sucking. If only one of the child's appetites—for example, the need to suck—becomes excessively developed, the symptom can often be cured by giving him adequate stimulation in other areas (rocking, lullabies, bathing, or massage). Infants' fears originate in the fear that the mother will not satisfy hunger and other strong needs. Such a fear quickly changes into fear of loss of the mother, fear of the dark, or various phobias. Slapping a baby who bites the breast or who kicks during feeding may cause later inhibitions of chewing or walking. In all her discussions of "mothering" the author emphasizes that this therapy should be administered regularly and frequently but only a little at a time.

Throughout, Dr. Ribble points out the need for helping the baby to organize and co-ordinate all his behavior. She gives schedules for the handling of infants throughout the day at various ages and describes some of the tests which she uses to determine emotional stability. She does not believe that intelligence tests are reliable before the age of one year, but stability or instability of personality is evident right from birth.

This book can be highly recommended to all persons who deal with infants or with their mothers. It is even suitable for reading by an intelligent nonobsessional laywoman who wants to know how to help her baby grow up in the best possible manner.

A. H. VANDER VEER, M.D.

University of Chicago

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work: Selected Papers, Seventieth Annual Meeting, War Regional Conferences, New

York, St. Louis, Cleveland, 1943. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. ix+491. \$5.00.

The second year of participation of the United States in World War II left its mark in several ways upon the 1943 *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work. The fact that exigencies of wartime transportation led the Program Committee to plan for three regional meetings resulted in more similarity of material than is usual; and the need for economy in publication costs makes the volume smaller than any of recent years. But more important, perhaps, is the departure from the usual division of the program into five conference sections in favor of concentration of interest and attention upon problems and programs made urgent by war.

Although the Cleveland conference was not held, the papers submitted in preparation were considered along with those presented in New York and St. Louis. The Editorial Committee adopted as a guide for its difficult task of making a selection among the many papers, "the tests of value for reference purposes, newness, practical usefulness to social workers, authenticity, historical significance, timeliness, and literary quality." The result is a volume of forty-five papers, of which two are opening addresses and the remainder are arranged under four captions: "Manpower To Win the War," "Social Work and War," "Social Security—Now and after the War," and "Social Work and Postwar Planning."

Five federal officials and one businessman analyze the problem of "Manpower To Win the War." All agree that manpower mobilization and maintenance of production have large social work components. The reduction of absenteeism, the recruitment and training of new labor, especially of women and youth, require attention to personal, plant, and community problems that interfere with efficiency.

Almost two-thirds of the entire volume is devoted to "Social Work and the War." Much information not readily available is presented about such familiar subjects as psychiatric screening of Selective Service registrants, day care of children, juvenile delinquency, counseling, aliens and minority groups, employment of minors, problems of community organization, and training of personnel. Of special interest are three papers on health and medical care. Two physicians are forthright in their declaration that "modern medical care cannot be pro-

vided under the present system of individualistic private practice with fee-for-service payment," but "a comprehensive system of medical care can be secured only by public subsidy, with or without the aid of insurance"; furthermore, "any health plan is futile which is not reckoned as a part of the whole community picture." In support of how effective a health program can be when the whole community participates is the third paper, which describes developments in Nebraska within the last four years.

The section entitled "Social Security—Now or after the War" includes reviews of the Beveridge Report, the National Resources Planning Board Report, and a historical account of the federal relief programs. From the standpoint of public policy the most significant paper in the *Proceedings* is Arthur J. Altmeyer's "Social Security: Safety Net or Feather Bed?" It is heartening to have the chairman of the Social Security Board declare that want can be abolished in this country. The method is a comprehensive plan of insurance, public works, and public assistance, all administered in relation to one another. Insurance, which would be broadened to include disability, sickness, and non-industrial accidents, as well as old age and survivors and unemployment compensation, would be one unified system, federally administered. Persons entering military service, regardless of previous status, would count the period of military service as a period of insured employment and thus be eligible for benefits, if necessary, upon their return to civil life.

Public assistance would be administered by the states but with federal grants-in-aid that would cover all needy persons. While the shadow of the old poor law still hangs over public assistance in most states, its dissipation seems nearer when we are assured that insurance and assistance have the same basic philosophy, that both are a matter of right, that the objective of both is "to provide people with a minimum income necessary for decent living." There are those who may disagree with Mr. Altmeyer on details of administration, but all will applaud his conclusion that the suggested program is an essential "safety net" against major economic hazards and is not—as critics in certain quarters contend—a "feather bed" that releases people from individual initiative and enterprise. For "the helpless and the hopeless" cannot be expected "to practise the prized virtues of independence."

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The last section, devoted to "Social Work and Postwar Planning," contains four papers on the problems of the future and on what social work and social workers can offer in the reconstruction period.

On the whole, the *Proceedings* for 1943 deal with informational rather than technical aspects of social work. This approach to program planning has its value in a period of rapid change, but it should not permanently supersede the section programs which have done so much to promote analytical thinking about the professional development of social services.

ARLEN JOHNSON

University of Southern California

Deafness and the Deaf in the United States. By HARRY BEST. New York: Macmillan Co., 1943. Pp. 638. \$6.50.

Dr. Best presents a comprehensive and detailed discussion of the group "sometimes more or less erroneously known as 'Deaf-Mutes.'" He points out that there is no anatomical connection between the organs of hearing and speech, and that some speech can be given with proper instruction.

This book should prove to be an excellent source of information for those who are working with the deaf. The material is divided into five parts: (1) deafness and the possibilities of its prevention; (2) the general condition of the deaf as they are found among us; (3) organizations concerned with the deaf; (4) provision for the education of deaf children in the special schools created for them; and (5) conclusions upon the work in the United States.

Of special interest are the parts dealing with the prevention of deafness and with the general condition of the deaf. Dr. Best believes that with sufficient medical knowledge and control over general health conditions nearly all deafness could be prevented, with the exception of that which is congenital or hereditary, and even this might be reduced as additional knowledge is obtained in the future.

In discussing adventitious deafness, or loss of hearing which results from accident or disease occurring after birth, Dr. Best points out that our efforts for prevention should be concentrated in the area of checking the spread of those diseases which are known to cause deafness—e.g., scarlet fever, meningitis, measles, diphtheria, pneumonia, influenza. Suggested

methods of control of these conditions in addition to direct medical attention are: compulsory reporting to health authorities of diseases which lead to deafness, as well as notifying such authorities when cases of deafness or impaired hearing are found; investigation of conditions in infancy and childhood that might lead to progressive deafness; periodic examination of the hearing of children; the establishment of clinical facilities for adequate follow-up medical care for both children and adults; extensive research in the physiology and pathology of the ear; and an educational campaign to inform the public about measures to prevent deafness.

In the field of prevention, Dr. Best thinks we are marking time, partly because deafness is often believed to be beyond medical or surgical skill. But, as he points out, medical research in the prevention of deafness is getting under way, and the effects of the use of radium and X-ray, as well as of therapeutic drugs such as sulfanilamide and sulfapyridine, upon diseases of the ear are yet to be discovered.

In the field of legislation there is the requirement by some states of compulsory hearing tests, medical examinations, and notification of health authorities of cases of defective hearing. However, we are not now able to say to what extent these measures have been effective in preventing deafness.

With regard to congenital deafness, Dr. Best does not advocate legislation with respect to the deaf who marry under conditions favorable to the production of deaf offspring. The question is not simple, since it concerns not only marriages of the deaf with the deaf but also marriages of the deaf with hearing persons when deaf relatives may be involved on either side. This complicated problem is referred to the field of eugenics for possible solution.

Subjects covered under the topic of "General Condition of the Deaf" include age, marital and sex distribution of the deaf, their physical and mental condition, the extent of education among the deaf, their economic condition, legal treatment of the deaf, and the cost of handicap to the individual and to society.

In a brief discussion of the various organizations for the deaf, Dr. Best points out that their advantages far outweigh the disadvantages of "clannishness," which is "hardly to be avoided since the deaf must largely create their own social organizations."

The author believes that the education of the deaf has made important contributions to edu-

cation in general. He traces the development of the day-school system but believes that it still remains to be determined to what extent the day school offers greater advantages over the institution. He stresses the need for deaf children to remain in school as long as their best interests demand, and he is of the opinion that age limits should be more flexible, with as few fixed regulations as possible.

Dr. Best is to be commended for his complete coverage of a neglected subject. It is to be hoped that sometime in the future he will give similar attention to the problems and needs of the hard-of-hearing, of whom there are over ten million in this country as compared to less than one hundred thousand deaf.

MARY L. THOMPSON

Chicago Society for the Hard of Hearing

Race and Rumors of Race: Challenge to American Crisis. By HOWARD W. ODUM. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1943. Pp. 245. \$2.00.

Dr. Odum probably did not plan this book as a case study of a group of mentally disordered people, and he probably did not intend to argue that the white people of America are becoming mentally disordered; but that is precisely the impression that *Race and Rumors of Race* made upon this reviewer.

Dr. Odum and his associates have collected approximately two thousand rumors—all of which, with a few negligible exceptions, are unsupported rumors about Negroes originated and believed by white people.

The creation, acceptance, and circulation of rumors having no basis in fact by a majority-race-as-a-whole regarding a minority-race-as-a-whole, considered in connection with the time and space circumstances under which they were given birth, would seem to endow the majority race with the characteristics of a certain type of psychotic personality.

Dr. Odum's rumor-mongers and rumor-believers resemble that type of mentally disordered person who is guilty, or thinks he is guilty, of some offense against another individual or society in general and who tries to escape from this annoying sense of guilt by forcing it into the unconscious. If he is successful in thus repressing it, he is not bothered appreciably about it for the time being and from all external

evidences had forgotten it. But, if some new situation develops possessing a substantial amount of the elements of the original situation, he is again bedeviled by the sense of guilt and tries other means to escape being brought face to face with his responsibility. He may try to deceive himself, as well as others, by projecting his own guilt onto somebody else even though he has not the slightest basis in fact for so doing.

This is what seems to be happening in the case of the American white people whom Dr. Odum describes. For a long time they have apparently possessed a feeling of guilt over their treatment of the Negro. This they had temporarily overcome by the mechanism of "suppression." The crude realities of the war and the war-industry situation have revived the guilt feeling. They now attempt an escape through the mechanism of projection, i.e., by justifying their behavior, as a defense against plans of aggression which they have in their own minds attributed to the Negro—but of which the Negro has not the slightest concept. These are plans of retaliation which the whites feel they would use against white people if they were in the Negro's place. Next they become victims of fear of the very aggression which they have conceived in their own minds but attributed to Negroes. Eventually, they actually believe in these fantasies, and thus their mental deterioration sets in.

The lack of a deep-seated culture makes the American people peculiarly susceptible to the spread of rumor fantasies. People of older cultures, such as the Chinese, for instance, probably would not be disturbed in the least by rumors.

The American people are in many respects gullible, and it is serious when their gullibility gets over into the field of human relations, because there it affects them emotionally and mentally.

Although it may be unintentional, Odum creates the impression that rumors are a basic cause of racial tension and riots. Rumors do not cause riots any more than isolated incidents cause riots. No greater myths were ever promulgated than that the Chicago riots were caused by white boys throwing rocks at colored boys on a bathing beach, or that the New York riots were caused by a white M.P. striking a colored woman.

These riots are inevitable. Certain social problems affecting the Negro, including substandard housing, limitation of wholesome

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recreation, and job discrimination, had been so neglected that the explosion point had been reached. Riots would have taken place, rumors or no rumors, unless these fundamental problems were treated.

Rumors are only symptoms of a social infection which has reached the tumescent stage. To try to cure riots or racial tension by suppressing rumors is, to use a hackneyed illustration, like putting salve on sores on the surface of the body rather than attempting to treat the fundamental disease through the blood stream.

In a way, Dr. Odum must realize the fatuousness of this theory, because, when he arrives at the concluding section of his book, where he logically discusses "treatment," he abandons the discussion of rumors altogether and presents suggestions for a solution of the race problem in the South—or at least for improving race relations in the South. This is all right except that it makes the book seem rather "cock-eyed."

All in all, *Race and Rumors of Race* is a rather curious mixture. It starts off with the avowed purpose of being a treatise on "rumors." It lists a tremendous number of rumors. It later devotes considerable space to a discussion of the race problem, chiefly from a southern point of view—and it ends with a statement of the programs of two or three organizations set up to improve race relations in the South.

Dr. Odum seems to me to have failed to recognize the psychoneurotic significance of rumors. As regards the race problem, he underestimates the tremendous effect that a major crisis such as war—and in this case a major war—has in accelerating cultural change. Finally, in discussing treatment he neglects entirely the most important factor in changing and improving race relations in the South today—namely, organized labor.

This reviewer has a tremendous admiration for Dr. Odum. Certain of his books have been and still are the most useful source material in my library. And perhaps, when an author turns out such a prodigious amount of material as is to be credited to this writer, he will put out a *Race and Rumors of Race* now and then.

FORRESTER B. WASHINGTON

Atlanta University School of Social Work

Planning Improvement in Rural Living through the Schools: A Report of the Exploratory Study of County Educational Problems. By

the BUREAU OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH, COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA. University, Ala., 1943. Pp. 103. \$0.50.

In the summer of 1942 a selected group of principals and teachers from six rural Alabama counties were brought to the University of Alabama for six weeks of study on an experimental plan partially financed by the General Education Board. The focus of the summer program was on how schools could discharge their obligation of local leadership in the improvement of rural living.

A considerable portion of time was spent in discussing ways in which all agencies in the community could work together in plans for community betterment. Representatives from the state departments of welfare and health, the planning board, extension services, and other departments and organizations participated.

The *Report* is replete with descriptions of county situations as seen by the local teachers and students, plans for school-community organization, and outlines of practical methods of accomplishing improvement in the areas of recreation, adult education, health, and economic and social welfare through the medium of the school program. The University planned to continue some supervision and consultative service to the schools during the period following the initiation of these plans in order to help as far as possible with their execution.

The *Report* is significant in the field of community organization and is also interesting because of the discussion of educational methods used in this experiment in in-service training for teachers.

GRACE BROWNING

University of Pittsburgh

Democracy: Should It Survive? Issued by the William J. Kerby Foundation. Milwaukee: Bruce Pub. Co., 1943. Pp. 159. \$2.00.

The theme that runs through this unusual series of papers by prominent leaders of modern thought is the dignity of man and his nature not as a mere individual but as a "person" with intrinsic value. Each of the fourteen distinguished contributors, including Jacques Maritain, Walter Lippmann, Philip Murray, Luigi Sturzo, and Jane Hoey, with a clear, penetrating, philosophical approach, presents the view

that democracy is primarily social, moral, and spiritual and only secondarily political and that it can survive only if it is solidly grounded on a recognition of man's inherent dignity.

Miss Hoey's very worth-while paper on "Social Work, Democracy, and the Human Personality" emphasizes the increasing trend in social work to recognize the whole man and to treat him as an integrated personality and as a social being. Social workers show a growing appreciation of the spiritual and emotional needs as well as material and social requirements of people. The nature of social work, writes Miss Hoey, demands a social philosophy about democracy and deep convictions about the rights of individuals.

Among the other topics ably presented are: "Background of the Declaration of Independence"; "Totalitarianism and the Dignity of Man"; "What Color, Man?"; "Man in American Education"; "Industrial Democracy and the Dignity of Man." The last paper, "Christ and Human Dignity," by William H. Russell, Catholic University of America, in beauty of thought and expression fitly closes this collection of lucid essays whose principles constitute a charter for the modern democratic state and a valid reason for the survival of democracy. In his closing paragraph Dr. Russell writes: "The dynamic for treating all men with respect comes from Christ. They who re-learn Him will relearn a new faith in the principle of the dignity of man."

ALICE PADGETT

*Catholic University
School of Social Work*

Medical Care of the Discharged Hospital Patient.

By FRODE JENSEN, M.D.; H.G. WEISKOTTON, M.D.; and MARGARET A. THOMAS, M.A.
New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1944.
Pp. 94. \$1.00.

A number of exceedingly interesting implications for the future of medical practice and medical education are suggested by this summary of an experiment in medical care of the discharged hospital patient undertaken by the University Hospital of the Syracuse University College of Medicine. From July, 1940, until February, 1942, the hospital provided for medical supervision, by an extramural resident physician, of all patients discharged from its wards. The project grew out of two earlier ventures: a teaching exercise in the College of

Medicine, whereby each medical student was assigned the responsibility for full social study of one patient during his period of service on one of the hospital wards; and a survey conducted by the hospital itself which had revealed that

approximately 90 per cent of the cost of hospitalization of patients on the general medical wards was for chronic illness; that only about one-third of the patients received what was considered satisfactory medical supervision after their discharge . . . ; and that the duration of many patients' stay in the hospital could have been shortened and many need not have returned to the hospital if intelligent medical supervision after discharge had been provided [p. 4].

Of the 902 patients for whom medical supervision was provided during this period, 165 required home care; 318 could be followed through dispensary supervision; 378 were returned to the care of their own physicians; and 125 required care in institutions for the chronically ill. It was for the group requiring home care and not otherwise provided for that the hospital assumed full medical responsibility, through the services of the extramural resident, who offered the patient the same continuity of care as is customarily available to the private patient.

In close association with the resident physician was a medical social worker, employed full time to conduct social studies and assist in the medical social planning for this group of patients. Relevant factors in the patients' social and economic setting were explored, before discharge from the hospital took place, and jointly evaluated by the resident and the worker in planning for the post-hospital supervision of these patients.

As might be anticipated, this study demonstrated conclusively the validity of certain general principles of medical care which have long been recognized by both clinicians and social workers but have been inadequately utilized under the existing complexities of specialized medical practice. The value to the patient of continuous and adequate medical supervision was strikingly shown by a decrease in the numbers rehospitalized and, for these, a shortening in the length of hospitalization required; conservative estimates, based on the amount of care previously required by these patients, in-

¹ During the period of the experiment, some of the patients in the group received more than one type of medical supervision.

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dicated that for the group of 165 followed at home, 7,268 days of hospital care, at a cost of \$29,072, were saved. In other words, 302 additional patients could have been hospitalized, for average stays of 24 days, on the basis of the bed space and service thereby made available.

As an experiment in medical education, the demonstration also bore out the values to the physician of knowing and following the patient not only through his hospital experience but through the subsequent stages of his illness. Not only was the physician's understanding of disease thereby broadened, but, of equal significance, his understanding of the "whole person" was pertinently enlarged in relation to the social, psychological, and economic circumstances which inevitably affect illness and the progress of medical care.

From the standpoint of the social worker, this last point is perhaps of greatest interest, since this experiment afforded an unusual opportunity for bringing to the physician, at a time when such information was pertinent, a knowledge of factors in the social situation with which the profession has in recent years been too little concerned. Evaluation of the individual medical social need and planning relevant to the patient's desires and resources could thereby be undertaken with a maximum gain in clarity and unity of purpose.

The relation of the medical social worker to the patients in this experiment does, however, raise certain questions as to the area in which her services were considered pertinent by the physician and the nature of her own relationship to the patient. Although the general discussion of the needs of sick persons indicates

a clear awareness on the part of the authors of the relevance of emotional and psychological considerations, in actual practice—if the case illustrations are typical—the medical social worker appears to have limited her approach to investigating specific lacks in the patient's environment for which material assistance or adjustments were necessary. The area of exploring and dealing with the patient's feelings and attitudes seems to have been entirely the responsibility of the physician. This division of responsibility can be sound only if the physician has the professional understanding and skill properly to evaluate and treat such problems, as well as the time to give the continuous service necessary to their solution. If medical education is extended to include more psychiatric training, the physician of the future may well be able to perceive and more adequately deal with the emotional responses of sick persons. In such event one might anticipate that the focus and area of activity of the medical social worker might be more sharply delimited, but certainly without loss in the depth or extent of her own relationship to the patient. As a demonstration of medical social work, as it is conceived and practiced today by well-qualified workers, the experiment at Syracuse University is open to serious question; and there would seem to be need for considerable clarification in differentiating the areas of activity appropriate to the physician and to the social worker in their mutual objective of meeting the medical and social needs of sick persons.

DORA GOLDSTINE

University of Chicago

BRIEF NOTICES

The American Family in World War II. Edited by RAY H. ABRAMS. ("Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science," Vol. CCXXIX [September, 1943].) Philadelphia, 1943. Pp. viii + 175. \$2.00 (paper).

In this collection of twenty articles the list of authors is imposing; most of them are distinguished authorities in the field of sociology, but they include also representatives from economics, labor relations and labor statistics, municipal housing, the Community War Services, the Naval Reserve Midshipmen's School, and maternal and public health. In addition, Mrs. Mary Agnes Hamilton, the British author, contributes an article on "Britain Fights for Family Life"; there is a report from a war relocation

center on "The Japanese Family in America"; and Dr. Donald S. Howard, of the Russell Sage Foundation, presents "American Social Work and World War II."

As the Foreword points out, there is scarcely an aspect of family life that has not been affected by the war; and, although this volume does not attempt to cover all the topics that might have been included, it does present a brief summary of the major effects of past wars upon family life and of the trends which appear to be emerging in the disruption and integration of family life in World War II. Dr. Thomas Eliot presents some interesting findings on observations of family responses to bereavement; several articles deal with institutions such as schools and

churches and other community organizations which influence or fail to contribute to the solidarity of family life; and Dr. Howard notes the shifts in emphasis in social welfare.

Considerable repetition is noted in the content of many of the articles, and the tendency to generalize and to draw conclusions from inadequate data is frequently observed. Omission of contributions from the practice of psychiatry and social case work, particularly as related to the family, children, and the young delinquent, as well as to the discharged serviceman, is regrettable, since the observations and findings from these fields have significant import in understanding family life in a world at war.

LOIS WILDY

What the American Family Faces. Edited by LELAND FOSTER WOOD and JOHN W. MULLEN. Chicago: Eugene Hugh Publishers, Inc., 1943. Pp. xxxi+254. \$3.50.

This book is based on a symposium on contemporary marriage and family problems held at the University of Chicago in 1942. The participants, whose formal and informal discussions are brought together in the volume, were drawn from the various fields of social science, with major contributions from such leaders in the family counseling movement as Dr. Ernest Burgess and Mrs. Evelyn Millis Duvall and such outstanding theologians as Dr. Roy Burkhart and Dr. Leland Wood of the Federal Council of Churches. The material is addressed primarily to religious leaders, in full recognition of the part which the church can play in education for family life.

The scope of the material is broad, with sections covering a statement of problems facing families today, consideration of programs on education for family life, discussion of counseling as a function of the church, and a general summary of the place of religion in family life. As might be expected in a symposium, the point of view is eclectic and to a social worker may seem to lean rather heavily on sociological and educational concepts. Of note, however, is the timely advocacy of a program that reaches the so-called "normal group," the coming-to-grips with the actual stuff of which conflict is made, the frank and realistic discussion of sexual problems, and the assumption of the responsibility of the minister or the church leader in counseling on personal problems.

The significance of this material from such a group should not be lost on the family case worker or any social worker interested in problems of family life. The church, like the school, is a social and educational force which reaches all levels of society and all kinds of individuals (in contrast to the social agency which reaches the socially or emotionally sick and too often only the lower economic groups). The recognition of the dynamics of human behavior and their relationship to the function of religious

leadership is emerging for the clergy in small points of light. Differences of ideological approach and point of view may be insignificant beside the fact that the Protestant church is preparing itself to strengthen an old function with new skills and that, even with some struggle and mistakes, the clergyman is emerging with a point of view about helping people in trouble that may correspond with or supplement the more limited therapeutic services of the case-work agency.

What the American Family Faces is an attempt at formulation of something with which the case worker may well keep in touch. Despite some obvious limitations of editing spontaneous discussion for publication, the content and point of view of this book should not be overlooked in the broad development of programs to stabilize family life and deal with family adjustment.

JEANETTE HANFORD

The Care of Children of Unmarried Parents: A Study Made under Auspices of Adoptions Committee, Jewish Children's Bureau of Chicago. Report prepared by MIRIAM ELSON. Chicago: Jewish Children's Bureau, 1944. Pp. 139.

This study deals with all cases of unmarried mothers accepted by the Jewish Social Service Bureau and with all cases of children of unmarried mothers accepted by the Jewish Children's Bureau during a ten-year period, 1930-39. There is a brief historical background of care of children of unmarried parents; a description of the services and procedures of the two agencies; the characteristics of the 158 unmarried mothers, their families, and their children; a brief statement of the paternal history of the children; the nature and extent of responsibility assumed by their fathers; and, in addition, a chapter, "Planning with the Unmarried Mothers for the Care of Their Children," which describes and illustrates the progressive changes in case-work approach to the unmarried mother during the ten-year period. The conclusions point up the strengths and weaknesses in the agencies' policies and procedures and the need for the formulation of means by which better service and protection can be rendered to the unmarried mother, her child, and the adoptive parent.

Of special import are these conclusions: (1) The Jewish unmarried mother and child do not generally constitute a family and should not be treated as such. It is, therefore, in the best interest of mother and child to separate them as quickly as possible; the child should be placed in a permanent foster-family as early in life as it is safe to do so. (2) The Jewish unmarried mother and child should be dealt with by one agency rather than by two. (3) The adoptive family should be evaluated by careful case-work methods; the case worker needs the consultative and supervisory services of other professional persons in the evaluation of prospective adoptive families.

In general, the findings appear to be comparable to those of the unpublished study on Chicago facilities for the care of the unmarried mother and the child, prepared by the Chicago Council of Social Agencies, and they confirm the need for re-examination of methods and approach by agencies which render services to unmarried parents and their child.

The present study is a significant contribution to social case work.

LOIS WILDY

Family Budget Counseling. Edited by DOROTHY L. BOOK. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1944. Pp. 92. \$0.65.

Budget Standards for Family Agencies in New York City, 1944. New York: New York Budget Council, 1944. Pp. 51. \$0.50.

The complicated problems of family economics all too frequently represent an area to which social workers react with the same confusion and evasion as do the clients who are seeking help in relation to them. There is common agreement in case-work practice today that the psychological and practical cannot be understood or treated apart from each other. In the field of household management, however, we have often been unable, in our diagnostic thinking and subsequent treatment, to distinguish the external, practical aspects of the client's dilemma from the internal. *Family Budget Counseling* should be of very real service for case workers, for it is written with a sound understanding of the factors underlying our failures in this regard—failures which become more obvious as today there are new calls for the financial counseling of families with independent incomes. Among these factors one is outstanding: the worker's lack of knowledge of the complex economic structure of family life.

There is a good, brief discussion of the psychological meaning of money, the implications of which are found in the chapters devoted to the realistic factors in the family's economic problems—e.g., the problems related to planning the budget; the basic items in the budget; and the different forms of savings, resources, and consumer credit, with a critical evaluation of the latter. The discussion is valuable also because it gives an appreciation and understanding of the economic principles involved, instead of merely presenting a set of rules the basis for which may be as meaningless to the worker as to the client and which may therefore be offered him in an authoritative fashion.

The chapter on budget-planning calls attention to such items as necessary work expenses, often over-

looked by worker and client alike in the determination of the client's income, with a brief suggestive paragraph on the problems often arising in families with adolescent wage-earners. For the worker who is as lost as the client as he struggles to extricate himself from a maze of debts, the chapter on the use of credit is also valuable. Case material is successfully used to show the integration of psychological and economic factors in the treatment process.

Budget Standards, prepared by the Budget Council, New York City Home Economics Association, and also written from the standpoint that the same case-work principles used in the treatment of family problems are valid in the field of budget counseling, focuses upon items of household expenditures. Although the prices given, with suggestions as to how they may be modified with market shifts, were arrived at in New York City, this discussion will be of practical value elsewhere.

MARY E. RALL

Dictionary of Sociology. Edited by HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1944. Pp. 342. \$6.00.

There have been many glossaries and dictionaries of special vocabularies published, but this book represents the first ambitious attempt by a group of scholars to define all the important terms in current use in the field of sociology. With the help of one hundred distinguished scholars, Professor Fairchild planned and edited the *Dictionary of Sociology*. The volume contains about thirty-six hundred selected terms, some of which are words and others phrases.

The words and phrases contained in the *Dictionary* were taken from published works of various kinds. The contributing editors have sought to determine the meaning of the most up-to-date usage of a term and to give a definition in precise language. This has not been an easy task, because, as the editor says, "there is hardly a score of words in this *Dictionary* which were deliberately created to cover sociological concepts." The vocabulary of sociology consists largely of common words which sociologists at one time or another have adopted and given relatively specific meaning. Groups of related words have been assigned to contributing editors who are familiar with their definitions, and the initials of the editor concerned are given at the end of each definition. For example, a number of terms in common use in the field of social work have been included, most of them defined by Walter Pettit.

The *Dictionary* should make an important contribution to the precise use of terms in the field of sociology.

R. C. W.

REVIEWS OF GOVERNMENT REPORTS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Public Services for Children in Oregon: Twelfth Biennial Report of Child Welfare in Oregon.
STATE PUBLIC WELFARE COMMISSION. Portland, Ore., 1942. Pp. 54.

The State Public Welfare Commission has continued, during the biennium ending June 30, 1942, to administer the child welfare program as an "integral part of the total public welfare program." This *Report* reviews briefly the ways in which the needs of children have been met through the integration of private and public resources, including county, state, and federal welfare, health, and educational services. The material is presented in two sections, "Public Assistance and Services for Family Care" and "Specialized Child Welfare Programs"; both are supplemented with appendices including statistical tables, and there is a "Directory of State Child Welfare Resources."

Among those programs mentioned in the *Report* as contributing to more adequate care of children in their own families were the General Assistance program, the Food Stamp Plan, the School Lunch program, the National Youth Administration, the Civil Conservation Corps, and the Aid to Dependent Children program. Although the administration of Crippled Children's Services was transferred from the State Public Welfare Commission to the University of Oregon Medical School, July 1, 1941, social services for locating crippled children, determining their eligibility for medical care, arranging transportation and foster-home placements, continued to be provided by county and state public welfare commissions. Upon the request of Selective Service boards, county public welfare commissions also made investigations of registrants claiming deferment for the purpose of "providing a basis for classification which would work a minimum of hardship upon families and dependents." In May, 1942, the number of such requests reached 305, the peak of the biennium.

Through federal funds, under Child Welfare Services administered by the United States Children's Bureau, child welfare workers were

employed on the staffs of seven county welfare commissions, and three consultants on the state staff made monthly visits to twenty-eight counties to assist local case workers, courts, schools, and private children's agencies in their work with children. Owing to personnel changes, consultation services were curtailed in all but eighteen counties at the end of the biennium.

The responsibility of the State Public Welfare Commission under the 1939 law to certify foster-homes and private child-caring agencies and institutions is also explained in this *Report*, with emphasis given to administrative policies and standards for certification. On June 30, 1942, there were 327 certified boarding-homes and 10 recertified child-caring agencies and institutions. Through the process of certification, private child-caring agencies and institutions are given consultation services on "methods of child care, housing, records, selection of personnel and administration." As a prerequisite for certification, children's institutions must be inspected and approved by representatives of the State Health Department and the state or city fire marshal. State funds are also appropriated to the State Public Welfare Commission for the care of "homeless, neglected, abused children, foundlings, and orphans" under the supervision of private child-caring agencies.

Upon request of the courts, the State Public Welfare Commission investigated 812 adoption petitions, involving 870 children, which was a 48 per cent increase over the number of petitions served during the previous biennium. Reports to the court have been prepared to give helpful information to judges in making decisions for the best interests of children and foster-parents, and they have not included recommendations. The *Report* points out the need for a careful review of the adoption statute and court procedures as a basis for future legislation to assure the adopted child and the natural and foster-parents certain essential safeguards.

Of interest is the account of special services provided to meet the exigencies of war. Eighteen members of the state and the county welfare

commission staffs, including child welfare supervisory personnel, were loaned temporarily to the Wartime Civil Control Administration to assist in the evacuation of Japanese aliens and persons of Japanese descent from certain sections of Oregon, designated by the Army as prohibited areas. Day-care facilities were also developed for children of working mothers during this biennium.

The value of the statistical tables in the appendix for tracing significant trends in adoptions, foster-home certifications, movements of population, and operating expenditures of child-caring agencies, etc., is somewhat lost because the data are presented in such detail.

While the advantages of an integrated welfare program are well presented, the *Report* fails to explain the administrative organization of the State Public Welfare Commission and its relationship to county public welfare commissions, which make such a program possible.

THEODORA ALLEN

*Division of Child Welfare
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Corrections in War Time: A Report of the Work of the Bureaus and Institutions of the Michigan Department of Corrections, 1941 and 1942. Lansing, Mich., 1943. Pp. 100.

This is the third biennial report by the director of the State Department of Corrections, Dr. Garrett Heyns, to the Michigan Corrections Commission, which is a five-person supervisory body appointed by the governor. The department has under its cognizance the Bureau of Probation, the Bureau of Prisons, and the Bureau of Pardons and Paroles. The Corrections Act of 1937 reorganized the then existing system; and the Civil Service Constitutional Amendment, which took effect in 1941, brought about improved personnel standards, which implemented the forward-looking goals contemplated by the reorganization. This *Report* contains a brief statement by the director and presents the reports of the Bureau of Probation and the Bureau of Pardons and Paroles, in addition to separate reports of the correctional institutions.

The Bureau of Probation statement by Ralph Hall Ferris contains much that is sound, and many refreshing items are mentioned, including an impressive increase in the use of pre-

sentence investigations. Reports from the prisons and the reformatory are consistent in displaying good attitudes, and in particular there is a wholesome, concentrated interest in education and classification. Dr. David P. Phillips' comments about classification are forthright and lack entirely the apologetic and defensive tones found in similar reports from many other states. The Pardon and Paroles report by A. Ross Pascoe is interesting, informative, and well prepared.

It is unfortunate that the organization of this *Report* leaves so much to be desired. With certain exceptions, the statistical presentation is awkward, laborious, and not at all meaningful. There is a lack of uniformity in handling similar materials which becomes quite disconcerting at times; the institutional reports would have been improved by some sort of unifying statement or summary by the administrative head of the Bureau of Prisons (Dr. Heyns currently performs this duty, there having been no appointment to the position since it was created in 1937). Financial statistics, which are on a fiscal-year basis, are presented only for the institutions and do not represent the total expenditures of the department. The biennium evidently refers to the period January 1, 1941—December 31, 1942, but this should have been stated clearly. Noteworthy also is the absence of any word concerning the work of the inspector of jails, who is stationed in the director's office. A suitable index would have been useful to those interested in a special field.

These enumerated defects detract seriously from the effectiveness of the *Report*, particularly as a medium of interpretation. The only remedy would seem to be a different approach, with report-planning and final report-writing being done in the office of the director.

Throughout this *Report*, justifiable emphasis is placed on war-borne conditions and problems; but it is significant that difficulties in retaining adequate personnel, in keeping production lines moving, in expanding crops, and in training men for presently needed industrial skills seemingly have not served to distract the administrators of this system from their fundamental objectives. As Dr. Heyns aptly says, "The aim of the Department of Corrections continues to be the rebuilding of lives" (p. 8). The citizens of Michigan may feel assured that the welfare of their 10,000 probationers, 7,500 prisoners, and 4,000 parolees is in the hands of conscientious, capable public servants. Their work deserves a

more coherent and systematic presentation than is available in this *Report*.

FRANK T. FLYNN

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Social Welfare Laws of Connecticut Revised through 1943. Hartford, 1943. Pp. 205.

This recent compilation of the Connecticut social welfare laws includes the new laws and amendments to the statutes relating to social welfare through the 1943 legislative sessions. The laws are not arranged alphabetically—"Administration" is the first title, followed by "Child Welfare," pp. 20-60; "Relief," pp. 61-98; "Mentally Handicapped," pp. 99-123; "Physically Handicapped," pp. 124-38; "Correctional Institutions," pp. 138-71. Finally, the welfare laws relating to "Veterans" (pp. 171-88) are now added to this revised compilation, in order that all social agencies may have ready reference to benefits and services available to clients who are veterans or members of the families of veterans.

The two outstanding accomplishments of the 1943 General Assembly in the field of social welfare are the enactment of the modern adoption law (pp. 43-47) and the amendment to section 731c (p. 85) providing for medical care and hospitalization in excess of the forty-dollar maximum award to beneficiaries of old age assistance.

Bills proposing a modern adoption law have been presented unsuccessfully to each General Assembly for many years, and friends of child welfare in Connecticut will be gratified to see their efforts finally rewarded in the enactment of the new statute. The provision for investigation by the commissioner of welfare or a licensed social agency and the provision for the interlocutory period before a final decree of adoption is entered will remove the possibility of irregular placements by unauthorized persons, which social workers have in many cases found to result in tragic results for the adopted child or adoptive parents. Social workers will also be interested in the safeguards provided for the records of adoptions as well as in the provisions for proper certifications of birth.

The amendment to the old age assistance law, providing awards for medical care and hospitalization to beneficiaries of old age assistance, marks the final and complete removal of this group from subjection to the provisions of the pauper law.

Further clarification of the amendment to the settlement law (sec. 1711 as amended by sec. 367g [p. 72]), providing for the loss of settlement after absence from a town for four years, will in practice simplify the determination of settlement and tend to minimize the controversies between towns over settlement of persons absent from the towns of their birth or previous residence. There will in time be an increase in the number of state paupers. It is to be hoped that the legislators of Connecticut may in the not too distant future see fit to re-write the entire settlement law instead of periodically attempting to clarify and simplify the old law dating from 1875.

The inclusion of the amended section relating to birth certificates (sec. 339 as amended by sec. 84g [p. 7]) will be helpful to social workers as will be also the several other new sections on certification of births.

It is significant that the legislators saw fit to pass section 366g (p. 67) prohibiting the publication of the names of dependents of members of the armed forces receiving aid. If the practice of publication of names of recipients of public assistance is such as to require this protection for dependents of the armed forces, it is regrettable that the provision was not extended to cover all recipients of assistance.

There is no table of contents, although there is a satisfactory Index at the end of the volume. The Appendix, containing opinions of the Attorney-General, would be more useful if brief summaries of the questions submitted and of the statutes upon which the opinion is based had been added.

The Public Welfare Council of Connecticut is to be commended for the periodical compilation of the social welfare laws of the state in order that they may be readily accessible to social workers and to others interested in social welfare.

VIVA BRUCE

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Guide to Thinking on Supervision in a Rural Public Child Welfare Unit. Prepared by TRAINING STAFF, BUREAU OF CHILD WELFARE, NEW YORK STATE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE. Albany, N.Y., 1943. Pp. 25.

This pamphlet is intended as a working guide for use in rural child welfare units in New York State where the addition of less experi-

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enced workers to the county staffs has necessitated the assumption of supervisory responsibility by the senior worker. It is not intended as a full discussion of the philosophy and skills of supervision. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the rural supervisor carries broader responsibilities than the supervisor in a single service; that she is likely to be working with at least one untrained staff member; and that she is professionally isolated.

Subjects discussed include agency organization, staff development, special problems in supervision and the interpretation of child welfare.

The pamphlet is so brief and the range of material so wide that it raises a question as to how helpful it could be to a person who has never supervised. On the other hand, its oversimplification suggests its limitations in helping the experienced supervisor. If it was worked out as a staff project, there was doubtless considerable value derived by the staff who participated in writing it. It would also be useful, no doubt, as a basis for staff discussions or when reinforced by consultation with an experienced supervisor.

GRACE BROWNING

University of Pittsburgh

Social Security Yearbook for the Calendar Year 1942. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, June, 1943. Pp. 216. \$0.50.

The *Social Security Yearbook* supplements the material published currently in the *Social Security Bulletin* and in general contains material and evaluations of the kind found in the *Bulletin*. However, because the *Yearbook* has the perspective of an entire year and looks forward to the next full year, it has particular usefulness as an evaluation of experience and as a body of recommendations for future consideration. These characteristics of the *Yearbook* are well illustrated by Mr. I. S. Falk's "Foreword: A Balance Sheet of Social Security in 1942."

The *Yearbook* for 1942 has continued the summary of events for the year which is familiar from previous volumes and is known as "Significant Developments in the Year"—a seven-page review with dates of the important events in the field of social security. This chronology is useful for reference purposes.

The major divisions of the *Yearbook* are entitled: "Social Security and the National Econ-

omy," "Social Insurance Beneficiaries and Benefits," "Public Aid," "Financial Aspects of Social Security," "Tabular Data on Insurance and Assistance under the Social Security Act," and "References on Social Security." The material in these sections of the volume is by no means a mere summary of what has previously been published in the *Bulletin*. For example (p. 136), Table 91 shows the age distribution by single years of child beneficiaries under the old age and survivors insurance. In Table 92 a similar age breakdown is given for beneficiaries of old age insurance. Much new material on employment security and the labor market is presented.

One cannot read this annual volume without becoming aware of the basic, general economic, as well as the social, implications of the present social security program and of the proposals for extending the program. Changes in the national economy affect social security programs, but it must also be said that these programs affect the national economy as they impinge upon the volume of employment, the gross amount of addition to consumer purchasing power through insurance and assistance, and the size of the trust funds to be invested or the assistance funds to be appropriated from general taxes. Much work remains to be done before we shall understand fully the nature and scope of the economic effects of social security programs. The *Yearbook* provides some of the data for the study of this problem.

R. C. W.

University of Chicago

Sixth Annual Report of the State Department of Public Welfare of the State of South Carolina for the Year Ended June 30, 1943. Arthur B. Rivers, state director. Columbia, S.C., 1943. Pp. 92.

This *Report* includes a brief annual review (pp. 7-28) by the state director, a statistical section (pp. 29-77), and a convenient reprinting of the South Carolina Public Welfare Act as amended to June 30, 1943, which is an appendix (pp. 77-92) to the *Report*.

This is one of the relatively new state welfare departments, but it is making progress and has apparently been very useful to the state activities in aid of the Selective Service System, for civilian war services, and for problems involving enemy aliens. There has been more juvenile delinquency as a result of women working away

from home and minors earning "hitherto unheard of wages."

In the important division of public assistance there have been declining case loads owing to the continued improvement in employment conditions and the effect of the Servicemen's Dependents Allowance Act of 1942. "However, this favorable tendency was largely offset by the continued rising cost of living, which tended to sharpen the need of most dependent persons and to widen the gap between their needs and their available resources."

There is some concern expressed over the closing of aid to dependent children cases, and one reason for the declining case load that causes serious concern is the fact that "mothers and other relatives having custody of children eligible for assistance have responded to the unusual demand for workers and have gone into industry because of the abnormally high wages available." While they have gained in financial resources, "they have, in many instances, deprived the children of the care and training that is their primary need. In other words, while the economic situation in the home may have been improved by reason of employment of the mother or other custodial relative, the social results of this development have been most disturbing."

The department has a Division for Treatment and Training of the Blind, but the federal-state aid to the blind is considered "public assistance" and is not integrated with the other services for the blind.

There is a section on "Needed Legislation," in which some recommendations are made regarding settlement and hope of federal aid for relief is expressed.

There is a useful section on Child Welfare Services, and the value of the Division in pointing to the need of protective legislation for children is emphasized. A bill is recommended

to regulate child placing and to provide for the development of standards of care for the certifying, visitation, supervision and regulation of agencies and institutions within the State that are engaged in the business of receiving and caring for children or of placing them or boarding them in private homes. This legislation is deemed necessary because of the widespread "misplacements" of children in South Carolina. Many referrals made to the Child Welfare Division at the present are for children who have been "given" away, deeded, neglected or mistreated by their parents or foster parents. Children are placed for adoption in other states by individuals and a few agencies who do not respect interstate

laws regulating the placement of children across state lines. Some children are removed from their homes and placed for adoption without proper court procedures.

There are very few public institutions in the state, and these—including the State Hospital at Columbia, the two Industrial Schools for white boys and Negro boys, respectively, and the Industrial School for white girls—are managed with special boards.

Vocational Rehabilitation of Michigan's Disabled Manpower. (Michigan State Board of Control for Vocational Education Bull. 286.) Lansing, Mich., 1944. Pp. 17.

This brief bulletin, evidently designed as a general interpretation of the Michigan vocational rehabilitation service, is excellent. Simply and clearly written, with attractive makeup and without exaggerated claims, this Michigan bulletin represents sound promotion of a program that through the years and in most states has suffered from inadequate and often very poor interpretation. Of particular note, perhaps, are the line drawings which accompany the text and the constructive use of photographs of the disabled people served by the program. So often the photographs used by state rehabilitation agencies have shown only appliances and disabilities; here the photographs bear out the sentence in the text which reads: "The simple secret of accomplishing this goal [i.e., placement in employment] is the strengthening of what the disabled person can do instead of focusing attention upon what he cannot do."

MARY E. MACDONALD

University of Chicago

Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure: Second Preliminary Draft with Notes and Forms. Prepared by the ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON RULES OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE appointed by the Supreme Court of the United States. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944. Pp. xx+272.

In June, 1940, the Congress authorized the Supreme Court to prescribe, from time to time, rules of pleading, practice, and procedure with respect to proceedings in criminal cases in district courts of the United States and in proceedings before United States Commissioners.

These rules were to be reported at the beginning of a session of Congress and were to take effect only at the end of the session when all laws in conflict with them should become ineffective. These rules, too, were to be effective not only in the continental United States but also in the district courts of Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, the United States Court for China, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, and the Supreme Court of the United States.

There are five acts dealing with the subject: (1) a Criminal Pleading and Trial Rules Act, (2) a Criminal Appeals Rules Act, (3) a Petty Offense Rules Act, (4) a Criminal Contempt Rules Act, (5) a Government Criminal Appeals Rules Act.

To carry this authority into effect the Court appointed an able advisory committee composed of eighteen members, with Arthur T. Vanderbilt as chairman and Alexander Holtzoff secretary. That committee formulated the rules published in this volume, which has been submitted to the bar and to the public for the purpose of obtaining constructive criticism and suggestions and is published now in revised form as the result of earlier comment. It is highly technical and specialized and illustrates the effort put forth to secure definiteness, clarity, and uniformity in judicial administration.

S. P. B.

Annual Reports, Federal Security Agency, 1941-1942, 1942-1943. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943. Pp. vi+65. \$0.15.

Of the ten agencies in the Federal Security Agency, the four most important, including the Social Security Board, U.S. Public Health Service, Food and Drug Administration, and Office of Education, have already made their annual reports available, and the current report adds nothing to the special reports by the summary reports covering the same field, which are included here. The reports not heretofore made public include those from the Columbia Institution for the Deaf, the American Printing House for the Blind, Howard University, National Youth Administration (transferred to the War Manpower Commission in September, 1942), and Civilian Conservation Corps, which has finally been liquidated. The Office of Community War Services reports briefly for its Division of

Recreation, which co-operates with the United Service Organizations, the Social Protection Division, and the Day Care Division for the children of working mothers. The Committee on Physical Fitness, which was established in April, 1943, also tells of its work. State directors of physical fitness have been appointed by the governors, and programs are said to be under way in thirty-eight states.

The important new Office of Vocational Rehabilitation was not established until July 6, 1943, and therefore could not present a report in this publication.

State Programs for Care of Children with Rheumatic Fever under the Social Security Act, Title V, Part 2. Washington, D.C.: Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, 1943. Pp. ii+5.

This very brief report answers several important questions, such as: How have state programs for the care of children with rheumatic fever developed? How does the typical state rheumatic-fever program work? How is the program administered? What children are available for care? How are such children located and what basic professional medical, public health nursing, and social services are made available to these children? This brief report will be interesting and helpful to all social workers interested in the services for crippled and other handicapped children.

Wartime Employment of Boys and Girls under 18. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 289.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943. Pp. 16. \$0.05.

Protecting the Health of Young Workers in Wartime. (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 291.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943. Pp. 10. \$0.05.

These two useful publications are planned to state briefly the exigent reasons for protecting children and young workers from illegal or dangerous occupations or work carried on under harmful conditions. The facts as to the greatly increased employment—legal and illegal—of young workers are clearly stated, and the consequences are faced. One of the most serious results is, of course, the loss of educational opportunity. The following statement is important:

Even before the war equal educational opportunity—the democratic ideal—was far from attainment. According to the 1940 census, 1 out of every 8 of the adult population 25 years of age and over had had less than 5 years of schooling. Ten percent of the children of the country 14 and 15 years of age and 5 percent of those between 7 and 14 years of age were not attending school in March, 1940. Among the rural farm children the average out of school was 18 percent for the 14- and 15-year-olds and 9 percent for those between 7 and 14 years of age. In some parts of the country the proportion of children

out of school was much higher—among the rural farm children in some States, 23 percent or more for the 14- and 15-year-old group and 12 percent or more for the younger group.

Great Britain has recognized education as an integral part of the war effort and has increased its appropriations for public education during these war years. Many British educators echo the regret of Prime Minister Churchill that England did not raise the age for leaving school (14 years) to 16 at the close of the first World War, so that better-trained youth would now be available for the war effort.

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